UNITED STATES CATHOLIC

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. III.) July 1890 (No. 11.

DONGAN'S CHARTER OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Read before the United States Catholic Historical Society by John Gilmary Shea.

There is a subject which the Executive Council considered too important not to be commemorated by at best a brief mention in a meeting of a Society devoted by its very charter to preserve and make known all that relates to the history of Catholics in this country.

The act is that by which on April, 1686, New York was raised to the rank of a city, endowed with property and franchises. It was the act of a Catholic Governor acting in the name and by authority of a Catholic Lord Proprietor, who after making New York English and the keystone of a great colonial system that was to secure to our tongue the preponderance on this continent, had ascended the throne of England, the first and only Catholic to rule there during the last three hundred years.

"The Dongan Charter" is a theme that we hoped to have treated here by the Irish Catholic Mayor of New York, as some remarks would come appositely from his lips, filling as he does the Chief magistracy of a city chartered two centuries ago by an Irish Catholic Governor.

I regret that the topic does not fall to better hands than mine, and as I too can plead ill health, I beg your indulgence.

Some years ago, a high city official listening to an important debate in the Chamber or argument in Court heard

constant reference to the Dongan Charter. At last he leaned over to some other official near him and asked in a whisper; "What *is* the Dongan Charter?" His friend's blank visage did not require even the movement of his head to show his ignorance. An appeal to another City worthy resulted in no more satisfactory elucidation of the problem, and the high official resigned himself to the prevailing ignorance. But the allusions to "Dongan's Charter" became too much for human nature. He rushed out of the City Hall, secured a carriage on Broadway and ordered the coachman to drive at once to the New York Historical Society. Alighting, he mounted the stairs, and the staircase of that venerable institution was not planned with an eye to the comfort of well fed city offiicials and entering the Library asked of the Custodian of books, his great conundrum; "What is the Dongan Charter.?" The answer came promptly: it was the charter making New York a city and giving it extensive rights, granted April 22d, 1686 in the name of James II King of Great Britain and Ireland by Colonel Thomas Dongan, an Irish Catholic Gentlemen, then Govenor of the province of New York. But where is this great document.!" was the next question. "The original in several large sheets of parchment with its seals is preserved in the office of the Comptroller." "What down in the Park?" "Undoubtedly." "And where can I see a copy?" "More or less correctly in the City Charter, in many collections of Laws relating to the City and in many of Valentine's Common Council Manuals."

After examining a copy he hurried back, and studying it at leisure set up as a pundit in regard to "Dongan's Charter."

In the remarks about to be presented, I am far from implying in my audience any such ignorance as to the Dongan Charter, or the Governor who granted it, or of the reign and the times in which he lived. Much less do I pretend to give a full or comprehensive account, for it would require a volume to present real facts and sweep away accumulated dust and cobwebs that have long passed for history.

The elevation of New York to the rank of a city was

only one of a series of wisely planned and ably guided acts looking to the future well being and greatness of America. It was important not to the city only and the colony of New York, but to the English empire in America, which the house of Brunswick subsequently received, but lacked statesmanship and honesty enough to retain. The Guelphs lost and lost dearly what the Stuarts consolidated and secured. This to some may be viewing history from a new standpoint, but it is a correct view.

Any one who passes rapidly in mind over the list of English monarchs whose rule extended to this country, will see little interest displayed by any of them in its actual or future prosperity. Elizabeth gave grants, James did the same and wrote a book to injure tobacco, the great staple of Virginia; Charles I made land concessions, but that was all. Cromwell did nothing but involve Maryland and Virginia in strife and confusion. Pleasure loving Charles II of his own impulse would have done as little for America as any of his predecessors; but his brother James was a man of different stamp. Eminently a man of action and administrative ability, James, Duke of York, applied himself during his exile to acquire military experience and saw service under the best general of his time. After the restoration he was made Lord High Admiral of England, and he set to work to increase the efficiency of the British navy. The rules drawn up by him were so wise, so thorough and so practical that they were maintained till our time, and the Nelsons, the Rodneys and the Hoods, the men who made England mistress of the seas, were trained under the system introduced by James, whom venal or careless historians persist in holding up to us as a shallow, bigoted man.

In France he had learned from the numerous books printed on Canada and Acadia, the extent of the French empire in America, and saw how the indifference of the English government was periling not only the future sway of our continent, but the very existence of the two neglected groups of colonies, Virginia and Maryland at the south, and New England at the north, colonies posssessing no common

bond or tie, colonies not homogeneous in government, religion or policy.

Reviving an old English claim, James solicited from his brother a grant of the territory colonized by the Dutch and that was wrested by them from the Swedes. As head of the navy he sent over the vessels and force necessary to take possession. New Netherland disappeared from the map, and New York, a new English colony became the connecting link between New England and Maryland, and as his grant included Maine, the British flag floated from the Penobscot to Cape Fear, over a series of colonies in unbroken line. We see his influence too in the grant of the Carolinas to a number of noblemen, completing the occupation of the coast and confronting the French in Acadia at the north, and the Spaniards in Florida at the south.

That the credit is due to James and not to any settled policy of English statesmen is evident, from the fact that this plan had no precedent, and that for nearly half a century after the fall of James not a step was taken to extend the limits of the British coast line his genius had secured.

To develop the province he had himself acquired James transferred the country between the Hudson and Delaware to others who soon peopled New Jersey. His friend William Penn, interested in that colony, soon became Proprietor of Pennsylvania, as all know, by the aid and support of James. In New York he established English laws, introduced English settlers and developed the resources of the province. There he established liberty of conscience. Bancroft says that "no glimpse of it reached James," and that he was "an advocate of toleration without a sense of the natural right to freedom of conscience," but that James was in the full sunshine instead of getting a mere glimpse is proved by his acts. He established religious freedom in New York and lost his throne for endeavoring to establish toleration in England.

Let me quote a more impartial writer, one not biased by hereditary New England hate of James, never forgiven for his endeavor to bring that part of America into harmony with the British constitution.

"Determined to give his American province the franchises its people desired, the Duke of York sought an able colonial governor to take the place of Andros * * * * The man chosen by James was Colonel Thomas Dongan, born in 1634, a younger son of an Irish baronet, Sir John Dongan, and a nephew of Richard Talbot, afterward created Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel in Ireland. Thomas Dongan, of course, gained advancement by his brother's and his uncle's influence at the English court. Dongan was quickly promoted to be a colonel in the royal army, and having been assigned to serve with his Irish regiment under Louis was stationed for some time at Nancy. In 1678 he was ordered home from France, to his pecuniary loss; but was rewarded by Charles with a pension and the appointment of Lieutenant Governor of Tangier, in Africa, under Lord Inchiquin, whence he was recalled in 1680. Dongan was a Roman Catholic, enterprising and active; coveting money, yet "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manners." His experience in France was an important recommendation, because of the delicate relations between New York and Canada, and the necessity of managing them skilfully on the English side. Dongan was accordingly appointed governor of New York."

Such is the language of John Romeyn Brodhead, historian of our State, a scholar and man of thought, with no bias in favor of an Irishman or a Catholic.

Several new officers came over with Dongan. "The Rev. Doctor John Gordon was also commissioned to be chaplain of the soldiers in New York. An English Jesuit priest, Thomas Harvey, of London, likewise accompanied Dongan, who embarked for America in the old Parliamentarian frigate 'Constant Warwick.' With a considerable retinue Dongan arrived at Nantasket, and set out for New York overland, accompanied some ten miles to Dedham, by a troop of Boston militia, besides several other gents of the town." Brodhead "History of the State of New York, ii pp. 370–375. This was in August, 1683.

About two weeks after his arrival on this island, Dongan summoned the first assembly of the province of New York.

When James became proprietor, such a step with a people ignorant of British laws and government, would have been useless. To give the power to the handful of English who came over, would have been to make a petty minority govern the majority. New York had in twenty years years however developed and James who wished the people to be governed impartially now established a form of goverment in which he aimed to give the legislation to the free-holders, securing on their part a loyal dependence on the British crown, wiser in his generation than the Georges in the next century.

On the 17th. of October. 1684. the seventeen delegates to the first New York Colonial assembly met with the Governor and Council in Fort James, the English fort between the Bowling-green and the bay. The first and grandest of its acts was "The Charter of Liberties and Priviledges," securing the rights of British subjects and establishing entire freedom of concience and religion to all peaceable persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ."

Thus is Dongan's name linked with an act and a day memorable in the annals of New York.

But this is not his only claim to a place in history. He at once took a firm stand for New York Colony and its rights. While Thomas Dongan was Governor of New York no infringement on its territoral or other rights, be it from the French in Canada, the over reaching men of New England or the Proprietor of Pennsylvania or the Governors of Maryland and Virginia would be brooked.

He was the bold, skilful, polished but determined upholder of the rights of New York. He was a splendid exponent of state rights.

Towards the French he presented a firm front. The noble missions of the Jesuits among the Five Nations had, as a Catholic, Dongan's warmest sympathy, but France could not make their pious labors the ground of a territorial claim. The territory of the Iroquois was within the limits of New York, and New York would not recognize any claim to a single foot of land in their occupation. He upheld the line of the great lakes as the natural border, and strove to keep

the French from any foothold below that line. Seeing the importance of Detroit, he endeavored to occupy it as a key to the West. If the line of the lakes is now the northern boundary of the United States, we owe it to James II and his able lieutenant Thomas Dongan.

Maryland and Virginia had grounds of complaint against the Five Nations. They sought to negotiate with that wonderful confederacy. Dongan put his foot down. They are New York Indians. You can negotiate with them only in my presence and by my sanction. Lord Howard of Effingham came from Virginia to make terms with the Indians under the eye of the Catholic Colonel. His negotiation gave for all-time to the Virginians an Iroquois name. The Dutch interpreter wishing to convey to the Mohawks the meaning of Howard, took the nearest Dutch word he could find, one meaning a hanger or short-sword. This to the Indians was big-knife, and they called the Governor of Virginia Assarigoa. Big-Knife; and that henceforward became the name for Virginians. Dongan's claim over the Five Nations endures to this day. When the Federal Government was formed, it attempted to pour its legion of Indian agents, contract schemers, and plunderers on the Indians in New York State, especially the Five Nations. Governor Clinton took his stand on Dongan's strong position. "The Six Nations are New York Indians. We tolerate no interference from the general goverment," and this attitude has been maintained.

Towards New England Dongan was equally firm. In the whole line of Colonial Governors there is not one who can be ranked higher than Colonel Thomas Dongan. Brodhead, indeed, accuses him of love of money, but more money was freely voted to him than future governors could wring by flattery or force. And Dongan freely spent the money in the public service. He left office with arrears of salary due him and large amounts advanced from his purse for public needs.

Among the memorable acts of his administartion was that of granting a Charter to the City of New York in the name of the King.

New York had enjoyed a kind of vague existence as a

city. It had the name without the substance. It had no powers that courts would be bouud to recognize.

To place the rights of the city on a firm basis, Dongan in April, 1686, in the name and certainly not without the sanction of King James II, issued a Charter in the name of James as King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and also as Supreme Lord and Proprietor of the Colony and Province of New Yord. It recognized New York as an ancient city confirmed all its rights whether by prescription or by any grant, formal or informal, from the States General or himself, or governors acting in their name.

Technically a city requires a bishop, but we were not ready just then to begin our line of bishops. In fact we had to wait sometime.

All lands granted to the city, the public buildings erected, the streets, ferries and all privileges, franchises, rights, royalties, free customs, jurisdictions and immunites exercised by the city were declared to be irrevocably vested in the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York. Still more important perhaps was the grant to the City of all waste, vacant, unpatented and unappropriated lands on the island, with all rivers, rivulets, coves, creeks, ponds, waters and water-courses, all land around the city down to low water mark with power to fill in and reclaim

New York was to have a Mayor, six aldermen and as many assistants, a town clerk, a chamberlain, a sheriff, a coroner, a clerk of the market, a high constable and a marshall. Nicholas Bayard was appointed the first Mayor, and of the six Aldermen two bear English and four Dutch names.

The Corporation thus created received power to regulate trade, markets and fairs, to open new streets and ferries, and to pass ordinances for the government of the city.

The Mayor with the Recorder or some of the Aldermen was to preside in a Court of Common Pleas, and hold a criminal court for the trial of offenders.

Such were the principal topics of this Charter which

declares at its close "that such and no other construction shall be made thereof, than that which may tend most to advantage religion, justice and the public good; and to suppress all acts and contrivances to be invented, or put in use contrary thereunto."

That New York prospered under the Dongan Charter is seen by the tenacity with which the citizens clung to it. When further powers were sought and a new charter issued under Governor Montgomerie in 1730, care was taken to recite the Dongan Charter at full length and confirm it. That was the corner stone.

The able governor Dongan held his office till James in 1688 united the province of New York to New England, and placed all under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros.

Then Governor Dongan retired to his own estate, in the colony. He had acquired lands on Staten Island and Long Island; and had brought over two of his kinsmen, apparently intending to make New York his home and establish the Dongan family here. The fall of James II left New York in confusion. A wild German fanatic, Leisler, seized the reins of government in New York. Left by William III's indifference and neglect to do his will he launched the New York Indians on the French in Canada, and committed a frightful massacre at Lachine, compelling the French on their side to use Indians in war, as they did with fearful effect on New England and New York for many a day.

Dongan had taken no part in favor of the fallen monarch, but Leisler hunted him like a wolf, and the best governor New York had had was glad at last to escape to Rhode Island, and sail to England from the port of Boston where he had been so honorably received.

He reached England to find a foreigner on the throne, his brother the Earl of Limerick in exile, the property of the family confiscated. His own accounts as Governor had never been settled, and New York owed him heavy arrears. He petitioned in vain for the repayment of moneys which he had with public spirit advanced, and for arrears due him. It was not till after long delay that a pittance reached Dongan,

a poor reward for long and able services to create a British Empire in America.

When his brother died and the Earldom of Limerick devolved upon him, he sought at least a portion of the immense estates in Ireland which had been confiscated, but the same niggardly policy prevailed.

The great governor of New York, Thomas Dongan, Earl of Limerick, died at last in the obscurity of poverty at London, and was interred in Saint Pancras' Churchyard, the chosen place of repose of Catholics of rank.

The Charter is still preserved intact in the office of the Comptroller of the city, but may easily be marred or destroyed. It is one of the oldest and most interesting documents relating to the city and its rights, and yet one gentleman seeking to consult it, found it used as a foot-rest by a clerk.

In the hope of being able to show the original Charter to the members of the Society, I applied to the Hon. W. Low, to permit it to be brought here this evening in custody of one of the officers of his department, Walter Dongan, a descendent of the great governor, being now one. He received our application with great courtesy, but expressed his regret that he could not allow it to be removed from his office except under a subpoena from a court of justice.

We are not prepared just yet to involve ourselves in litigation, even with a skilful lawyer for our president; but I question whether the comptroller has any right to the custody of the Dongan Charter. He is not one of the ancient officers created by the charter, while the chamberlain is: but there seems no authority for any financial officer to hold the charters and rolls of the city, to be its "Custos Rotulorum."

When it was issued Dongan's Charter was surely committed to the custody of the Mayor, Nicholas Bayard, and the Clerk, John West. It would seem therefore that the clerk is the proper holder of the same and responsible for its safe keeping.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

OR

THE BEAUTY OF MARYLAND

DISPLAYED.

Being a Brief and Candid Search and Inquiry into her Charter, Fundamental Laws and Constitution.

By a Lover of his Country.

The following is from a manuscript of the latter part of the seventeenth century, preserved in Georgetown College. The opening is unfortunately missing and there are several lacunæ. It is however, so important that it is here printed in its mutilated condition.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

OR

THE BEAUTY OF MARYLAND DISPLAYED.

* * * * * at her birth as I may, say * * * * * * * * * * * * Forces w^ch^ prevents all future discords, by a fundamental law giving equally liberty of conscience and an equal share in all rights and privileges are allowed to all christians, but a mutual love, union and concord are secured to them, by strictly forbidding under y^e^ severest penalty's, the least reflection upon another's religion or way of worship. But to advance gradually, and let my arguments search into y^e^ fountain head and begin with Maryland, or when Maryland began to be an English Colony.

It is to be observed that Maryland was first granted by King James I to S^r^ George Calvert, who was father to y^e^ L^d^ Cæcilius, he to y^e^ L^d^ Charles, he to y^e^ L^d^ Benedict, and he to y^e^ present L^d^ Charles, Baron of Baltimore, nor must I here omit remarking that y^e^ said Sir George Calvert had for some years served King James y^e^ first, in quality of Secretary of State, a post well known to be of profit, as well as of trust and honor, and consequently such as would be aspired unto by most, and voluntarily laid down by none, without a motive of the highest nature, and such was that of Sir George, who upon a conviction of conscience, thought himself obliged to postpone his temporal to his eternal interest, that is, by embracing the Roman Catholic religion to render himself unqualified for y^e^ abovesaid office of Secretary of State, and the King being apprized and yet probably by Sir George himself, of this his change, was so far from forgetting his past good services, that to reward the same, he constituted him Baron of Baltimore, and passed a Grant

under ye
Governr of the said Provinces Royal grant issued after Sir George had declared himself a Roman Catholic and surrendered the Secretary's place.

Now ye said Sir George Calvert not long surviving the abovesaid grant little could be done during his time towards the effectual settling of Maryland, wch nevertheless had soon a happy issue, under the auspicious life and government of his son Lord Cœcilius, to whom the same grant, as to Maryland, was afterwards confirmed by King Charles I, in an ample charter granted to the said Ld Cœcilius, who, *pursuing his father's intentions, and excited with a laudable and pious zeale, for the Propagation of the Christian Faith, and the enlargement of ye King's Empire and Dominion, had humbly besought leave of the King, by his own industry and charge, to transplant an ample Colony of ye English nation into those parts of America* now called Maryland, as the Preamble of ye Charter does word for word appear, and here again I must observe that ye said Ld Cœcilius was known to be and professed himself a Roman Catholick, before, at and after the granting of his Charter, and persevered therein until his dying day: — so yt Maryland being first granted to Sir George Calvert, upon the change of his religion, and afterwards confirmed to his son ye Ld Cœcilius a professed Roman Catholick, it is to suppose that the Crown designed that they who were to be hereditary Governors of Maryland should have ye free use of their Religion wth other privileges they there enjoy.

Cœcilius is no sooner Lord and Proprietor of Maryland than he spares neither cost nor pains to people and improve this Province; hence it is, that to encourage others to transport themselves thither, he soon publishes a declaration, throughout all England and other ye King's dominions, that whosoever of his Majesty's subjects would go and settle in Maryland, should not only have a considerable Tract of land granted unto them gratis, but should there enjoy all Rights and Priviledges equally and without distinction; and it was upon this prevailing encouragement, that many English,

Scotch and Irish, of all religions. Church-men, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, transported themselves and families: "tho' the chief adventurers," (says the Atlas Geographicus, vol. 5, page 766,) were Popish Gentlemen of good families, who expected full liberty, under a Proprietor of their own religion," especially since by his abovesaid declaration he had promised an equal enjoyment of all Rights and Priviledges unto all.

Now as this appearance of a general liberty in the enjoyment of each one's religion and property, was a great encouragement to y^e^ first adventurers (as Ogilby above cited observes) and furthered much the ready settling of this province: so we find that these adventurers were no sooner settled, but they began to consider how they should insure not only to themselves, but to their late posterity, that for which they had bid adieu to their beloved native soil, I mean the liberty in the enjoyment of each one's Religion. Nor is the Lord Cœcilius

For no sooner were they thus settled and incorporated into a sufficient body to call Assemblys and make laws for themselves (as by their Charter they are allowed) but we behold the whole country voting for and the L^d^ Cœcifius consenting unto a fundamental law, whereby liberty of conscience is allowed to all that profess to believe in Jesus Christ," as says our above cited author in his new description of Maryland, page 185, and they the L^d^ Cœcilius "who was at vast expense to improve the Colony," (says another author Atlas Geographicus, vol. 5, page 719) "tho' a Papist procured an Act of Assembly for Liberty of Conscience for all Christians and permitted the dissenters to enjoy the Rights and Priviledges of Englishmen:" by which clause this author clearly shows, that, in his opinion, the Lord Cœcilius had full power to admit and exclude what Religion he pleased or to make his own the chief in Maryland, as W^m.^ Penn did his in Pennsylvania; for that the dissenters were allowed "Liberty of Religion and y^e^ enjoyment of y^e^ Rights and Priviledges of Englishmen," was a permission according to this author and consequently an Indulgence of y^e^ L^d^ Cœcilius and not their

right or due. Now if any one should hence suspect this author of being partial to y^e^ Roman Catholics and an enemy to the dissenters, or ignorant in the History of this Province, let him but peruse this work and he'll soon find y^e^ reverse, that is, that he scarce ever treats the first with humanity. always speaks favourably of y^e^ latter, and if you believe him in his Preface or Introduction, he was not unprovided with materials wherewith to compile y^e^ description of y^e^ whole world and consequently of Maryland.

That Liberty of Conscience was w^t^ our first Adventurers had most at heart, will clearly appear. to anyone that considers how strenuously they maintained the same, in the first Assembly of this province by the above^d^ Law of Religion, w^ch^ by its Preamble, appears to be the first Authentic Act of this infant Conlony; whence we have a convincing demonstration that, as they had transported themselves and families, upon y^e^ promise and in expectation of this Liberty so were they firmly resolved to use their utmost endeavours to fix and perpetuate the same to after ages, and this they did after the most solemn and sacred manner, by enacting a fundamental and stable law to confirm and secure this Liberty unto all christians and that forever as the chiefest of their Priviledges, and y^e^ most material branch of our Constitution: and I defy the enemys of Maryland to produce one single Author, that denys the same, or does not in express terms, whilst touching upon our Constitution, mention this liberty of Conscience as a part thereof. For not only y^e^ above cited Authors but y^e^ larger Maps of y^e^ English Empire in America, w^th^ a description of each Province in y^e^ margin; (Robert Morden in his Geography rectified, 4th. Edition printed at London 1700 page 596, and Herman Moll in his System of of Geography printed at London, 1701, in his description of Maryland, in his North America, page 167;) and in a word all others, do confirm my above assertion that Liberty of Conscience is allowed in Maryland by a fundamental Law, that is to continue forever. To prevent mistake I will transcribe the words of the two last cited Authors, as highly worthy our observations; first that this liberty of conscience

was, in prudence, allowed to all by his Lordship, from the beginning, and that it soon after was enacted into a law by the inhabitants wth his Lordship's consent; second, that this Law was not for a time only, but to continue forever, and consequently to be an unchangeable and essential condition of this Plantation; third, that according to these Authors the Law of Liberty of Conscience is so far from being, etc., Robert Morden in ye end of his description of Maryland has these words: "To conclude, the impeopling and trade of this Province, by ye vast expense, care and industry of ye Lord Proprietary hath been improved to that heighth yt in ye year 1670 there were reckoned near 20,000 English planted there. And that wch keeps them together in the greatest peace, order and concord imaginable, is the Liberty of Conscience wch his Lordship in prudence allows to persons yt profess Christianity, tho' of different persuasions; so yt every man lives quietly and securely wth his neighbor, neither molesting nor being molested for difference of judgment in Religion, wch liberty is established there by an Act of Assembly, with his Lordship's consent, to continue forever. "Agreeable to this is what Herman Moll in ye above cited place, gives us in the following words: The Government of Maryland is framed according to ye model of yt of England and maintained by wholesome laws that tend much to ye advantages of ye Inhabitants; Liberty of Conscience being allowed to all that profess christianity, though of different persuasions so yt none is molested for difference of judgment in matters of Religion, and this liberty is established there by an Act of Assembly to continue forever; by wch means so many have been induced to settle under this Government, that ye number of ye English in ye year 1670 amounted to near 20,000, and they all live together in the greatest peace, order and concord imaginable." Thus far this Author who agrees so perfectly with Morden and both wth what I have advanced that I cannot but be sensibly rejoiced to find my above assertions thus corroborated by two so credible and impartial authors, whose words are so agreeably corresponding to ye former part of this Treatise that the reader might

rationally conclude that I copied after them; and yet I can and do assure him that I had never perused either of these authors till I had writ what goes before ye above citation, and had gathered all before I advanced from our records, other authors and common fame. To observe therefore upon and apply these authorities to my present design I remark, that according to this Author the law of Liberty of Conscience is so far from being inconsistent with our Constitution, altho' our Government is framed, as Moll observes according to ye model of yt of England, that it is rather the exact fundamental part of our constitution and a wholesome Law, that is, such a law as tends much to the advantage of ye Inhabitants. I remark again that this Law as it was designed, so did it much forward the settlement of this province, in so much that in forty years it numbered nigh 20,000 English Inhabitants, and lastly I remark (wt should never be forgotten) that the happy fruits of this Fundamental Law of Liberty of Conscience were not only the peopling of this Province in so short a space, but that happy union and agreement of its inhabitants, who altho' differing in their judgements as to matters of Religion, lived nevertheless *together* in the greatest peace, order and concord imaginable.

And now lest some may imagine that this cry of Liberty was only a politick invention to decoy unthinking people and induce them to leave their native soil in quest of that they were never to enjoy, to suspect wch is not only injurious to ye memory of ye Lord Cœcilius, but traduces our worthy ancestors, the first adventurers and compilers of the Law as false and deceitful, and not only enemies to themselves and barbarous to their posterity who might probably be of as different persuasions as were their forefathers, makers of the said law, but (to use ye vulgar expression) no better than a scandalous pack of unconscionable kidnappers, in regard of those that transported themselves, allured thereto by that specious promise of an entire Liberty of Conscience, and an equal enjoyment of all Priviledges: I shall only offer first that such a Law was enacted by ye Lord Proprietor and people, And secondly that ye said Law was religiously ob-

served from y^e^ first settlement of this Province, for above sixty years without y^e^ least alteration, and even esteemed by the Inhabitants as their birth-right, the chief of their priviledges, and an essential part of their constitution; and lastly that the same law was approved of by the Crown appears for that the same was printed in and diffused thro' all England, to encourage people to come and reside in this Province; and thus made so publick that all authors writing of Maryland mention y^e^ same as I before observed, and yet it never met with any countermand, check or opposition from y^e^ crown or government of England, no not even in the days of Oliver Cromwell, who, altho' he used his utmost endeavours to extirpate, both y^e^ Church of England and Popery out of y^e^ whole kingdom, did nevertheless permit both to enjoy their ancient privileges here in Maryland.

Thus far concerning the Law, its occasion and motives, its rise and progress, its approbation, continuance and success; now let it speak for itself and make known to all, that harmonious union, real love and entire agreement w^ch^ make up the second distinguishing character of our worthy ancestors and first adventurers, that settled this Province upon so noble and so lasting a foundation as I in the beginning did with pleasure observe. Now Rules, as Naturalists well observe and experience makes appear, the first act and principal effort of each sensitive tho' irrational being, tends to its own defence and centres in self-preservation, we cannot doubt but that the first act and chief design of all rational creatures is, and ought to be directed to this noble end, first of serving and honouring its maker the Diety, and then of preserving and if possible, improving its owu existence; and whether our ancestors were not well apprised hereof, or did not solely aim at this christian as well as rational end, let their first authentic deed, I mean the first Law or Act of Assembly they ever made bear evidence, for here we shall find them first decreeing *Quæ sunt Dei Deo*, due honour and worship to y^e^ Deity, and then fencing in and securing their own Rights and Privileges from all injurys and oppressions to themselves and late posterity,

I omit all further observations, or rather defer them till you have heard the law, wch I will here give you at large, as printed in England, with its title, Preamble and more essential parts:

A Law of Maryland concerning Religion.

"Forasmuch as in a well governed and Christian Commonwealth, matters concerning religion and the honour of God ought in the first place to be taken into serious consideration and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore ordained and enacted by the Rt Hon. Cœcilius, Lord Baron of Baltimore, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the advice and consent of ye upper and lower House of this General Assembly: That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is curse him, or shall deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God; or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said three persons of the Trinity; or the unity of the Godhead; or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words or language, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of ye said three persons thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods, to ye Lord Proprietary and his heirs.

"And be it also enacted by the Authority and with ye Advice and Assent aforesaid, ye wt soever Person or Persons, shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachful words, or speeches concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Saviour, or ye Holy Apostles, or Evangelists, or any of them, shall in such case for the first offence, forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary and his heirs Lords and Proprietarys of this Province, the sum of five pounds sterling, or the value thereof to be levyed on the goods and chattels of every such person so offending, but in case such offender or offenders shall not them have goods and chattels sufficient for ye satisfying of such forfeiture, or that the same be not speedily

satisfied, that then such offender or offenders shall be Publickly whipt, and imprisoned during y^e^ Pleasure of y^e^ L^d^ Prorietary or y^e^ Lieut or Chief Gov^r^ of this Province for the time being: and that every such offender and offenders for every 2d offence shall forfeit ten pounds sterling, or the value thereof, to be levyed as aforesaid or in case such offender or offenders shall not then have goods and chattels within this Province sufficient for that purpose, then to be publickly and severely whipt and imprisoned, as before is expressed; and that every person or persons, before mentioned, offending herein a 3d time, shall for such 3d offence forfeit his lands and goods, be forever banished and expelled out of this Province.

"And be it also further enacted, by y^e^ same Authority, Advice and Assent that w^t^ soever Person or Persons shall from henceforth upon any occasion of Offence or otherwise in reproachful manner or way, declare, call or nominate any Person or Persons w^t^ soever, inhabiting, residing, trafficking, or trading or commercing within this Province or within any the Ports, Harbours, Creeks or Havens to the same belonging an Heretick, Schismatic, Idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independant, Popish Priest, Jesuit, Jusuited Papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anabaptist, Brownist, Autinomian, Barrowist, Roundhead, Separatist, or other name or term (in a reproachful manner) relating to matter of Religion, shall for every such offence forfeit and loose the sum of ten shillings sterling, or the value thereof, levyed of the goods and chattels of every such offender and offenders, the one-half thereof, to be forfeited and paid unto the Person or Persons, of whom such reproachful words are, or shall be spoken or uttered, and the other half thereof to y^e^ L^d^ Propietary and his heirs, L^ds^ Proprietarys of this Province: But if such person or persons, who shall at any time utter or speak any such reproachful words or language, shall not have goods or chattels sufficient and within this Province, to be taken to satisfy the penalty aforesaid, or that y^e^ same be not otherwise speedily satisfied, y^t^ y^n^ the persons or persons so offending shall be publickly whipt, and shall suffer imprisonment without bail or main-

prize, until he, she or they respectfully shall satisfy ye party offended or grieved by such reproachful language, by asking him or her respectively forgiveness publickly, for such his offence, before ye magistrate, or chief officers of the town or where such offence shall be given.

"And be it further enacted by ye authority and consent aforesaid, that every person or persons within this Province, that shall at anytime hereafter profane the Sabbath or Lords Day, called Sunday, by frequent swearing, drunkenness, or by any uncivil or disorderly recreation, or by working on that day (when absolute necessity doth not require) shall for every offence forfeit two shillings six pence sterling, or the value thereof and for ye 2d offence five shillings sterling or the value thereof and for the 3d offence and for every time he shall offend (in like manner) afterwards, ten shillings sterling, or the value thereof: and in case such offender or offenders shall not have sufficient goods or chattels within this Province to satisfy any of ye aforesaid penalties respectively hereby imposed for profaning ye Sabbath, or Lord's Day, called Sunday, as aforesaid, then in every such case, ye party so offending shall for the first and second offence, in yt kind, be imprisoned till he or she shall publickly in open Court (before the chief Commander, Judge or Magistrate of that County Town or Precinct, wherein such offence shall be committed) acknowledge ye scandal and offence he hath in yt respect given against God, and ye good and civil Government of yt Province, and for ye third offence and for every time after, shall also be publickly whipt.

"And whereas the inforcing of Conscience in matters of Religion, hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence, in those commonwealths where it hath been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable Government of this Province, and the better to preserve mutual love and unity amongst ye inhabitants here; Be it therefore also by ye Ld Proprietors, with ye Advice and Assent of ye Assembly ordained and enacted (except as in this present act is before declared and set forth) that no person or persons whatsoever, within ye Province or ye Islands, Ports, Harbours, Creeks or

Havens thereunto belonging, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any ways troubled, molested and discountenanced, for or in respect of his or her Religion, nor in the exercise thereof within this province or the islands thereunto belonging, nor any way compelled to y^e^ belief or exercise of any other Religion, against his or her consent, so as they be not unfaithful to y^e^ L^d^ Proprietary, or molest or conspire against y^e^ civil Government established, or to be established in this Province under him and his heirs. And that all and every person and persons, y^t^ shall presume contrary to y^e^ Act, and the true intent and meaning thereof, directly or indirectly either in person or estate, wilfully to wrong, disturb or trouble, or molest any person or persons whatsoever within y^e^ Province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of his or her Religion, or y^e^ free exercise thereof within y^e^ Province otherwise than is provided for in y^e^ Act, that such person or persons so offending shall be compelled to pay treble damage to the party so wronged or molested for every such offence; shall also forfeit twenty shilliugs sterling in money, or the value thereof; half thereof for the use of the L^d^ Proprietary and his heirs, L^ds^ and Proprietaries of this Province, and the other half thereof for the use of the party so wronged or molested as aforesaid; or if the party so offending as aforesaid, shall refuse or be unable to recompense the party so wronged, or to satisfy such fine or forfeiture, then such offender shall be severely punished by publick whipping and imprisonment during y^e^ pleasure of the L^d^ Proprietor or his Lieutenant or Chief Governor of this Province, for the time being, without Bail or Mainprize.

"And be it further also enacted by y^e^ authority and consent aforesaid, that y^e^ sheriff or other officer or officers from time to time to be appointed and authorized for that purpose of y^e^ county, town or precinct, where every particular offense in this present Act contained shall happen at any time to be committed, and whereupon there is hereby a forfeiture, fine or penalty imposed, shall from time to time distrain and seize y^e^ goods and effects of every such person

so offending so aforesaid, against this present Act, or any part thereof, and sell the same, or any part thereof for the full satisfaction of such forfeiture, fine or penalty as aforesaid, restoring to y^e^ party so offending the remainder or overplus of y^e^ said goods or estate, after such satisfaction so made as aforesaid."

Behold y^e^ first and fundamental Act of this Province, a law to stand forever and worthy of our noble ancestors. A law that gives ease to tender consciences, induced thousands to transport themselves hither, and united all in y^e^ strictest bonds of peace and good neighbourhood, and as y^e^ promised enjoyment of this law was y^e^ chief inducement to many of our forefathers to settle here, so it is to be hoped that all lovers of their country will not only value the same as they did, but do their utmost to secure unto themselves and transmit to late posterity this so essential a part of our happy constitution; for as y^e^ intended scheme of y^e^ Liberty of Conscience gave tbe conception and this law brought it forth; so y^e^ observance of this law has nourished, brought up and perfected this our province; nor can we question but a body politick, as well as natural, is left preserved by y^e^ continued influence of those means to which it owes its existence and production and consequently since this Law of Religion was our first, our chief, our fundamental Law, and y^e^ dearest branch of our Constitution, by which we live, grow up and flourish, to strike hereat, would be to unhinge y^e^ Government, destroy our foundation, and reduce this flourishing Colony to ruin and confusion; besides the great injustice would be done to those whose forefathers were prevailed upon to become residents in this Province by this fun- Law, which like y^e^ conditions of Plantations, was to be inviolable and unalterable.

But to return to y^e^ law itself and make some reflections thereupon, I observe—first; That as y^e^ service of God and union, peace and concord among one another, were w^t^ our Ancestors did so highly value and endeavour to settle, so are they w^t^ we their descendants should have most at heart,if we would copy after so noble a pattern, or share in a like

happiness. Secondly; This was their first Act and design to be their last, as I may say; y^t it is was to be perpetual, as y^e authors above cited do allege. Thirdly; To this Act it is to be attributed, y^t our Province became so well peopled and flourishing so soon, as y^e same authors observe. Fourthly: It would be not only a hardship, but an injustice to deprive those of the benefit of this law, to enjoy which was y^e only motive that induced their forefathers to leave their native soil and settle here. Fifthly; This Law, as it it was made to be perpetual, is an inherent birthright of each Marylandian. Lastly; as this Law and the enjoyment thereof has peopled our Province, and made it y^e most happy and most flourishing of all y^e British Colonys, so y^e cessation or annulling thereof would be, not only injurious to our late Posterity, but would render us a divided and unhappy people, and *tend much to depopulate this his Majesty's so profitable colony,*" as the Lords Commissioners do observe in their Remonstrance to y^e late Queen of blessed memory, of which more hereafter; but to pursue our history.

Under y^e protection of this fundamental law, christians of all persuasions lived, intermixed, in y^s Province, in Peace and good neighbourhood; nor was there any difference to be seen, save only in their different places, and manner of worship, in Divine service; at other times, and in other places, they all agreed as neighbours, friends and brothers, whilst some of all persuasions (that is to say, those that were thought most fit and capable) employed promiscuously places of Honor, Trust and Interest, and this for sixty years and upward; during which time all christians enjoyed not only y^e free use of their religion, but an equal share, in all their Rights, Places and Privileges: So y^t whenever a Counsellor, or Burgess, a Judge or Justice, was to be chosen, or appointed. his Religion was neither a help nor a hindrance, and nothing came under consideration, but his integrity, Parts and Capacity, were he Churchman or Presbyterian, Quaker or Roman Catholic; and hence it is to be presumed that this country was never better served, nor would it be, than in those halcyon days, when neither his Lordship nor y^e People were

debarred, he from appointing, or they from chosing, the most knowing and proper persons, be their persuasions what it would. Nor was y^e^ equal enjoyment of Privileges confined to Religion and Offices only; no, there was also an entire liberty and full enjoyment of all other rights, privileges and immunities for all subjects of Great Britain, as to buy and sell, to take profits and enjoy, to transmit to their heirs, or to convey or bequeath unto any other w^t^ goods or chattles, lands or hereditaments, and in a word, all their estates, or any part thereof, whatever, real or personal: So y^t^ Clergy and Laity of all persuasions have taken up land of his Lordship, bought of and sold to each other and succeeded to Estates by bequest or Inheritance, without doubt or scruple, and the Lord Prop^ty^ has not only allowed thereof but acted therein, in and from y^e^ infant years, as I may say of their Province, as it appears upon our Records (A. B. and H. Fol. 27.) where land is granted to Thomas Copley, or according to his assignment y^e^ said Copley having Rights, as y^e^ above cited record observe, to twenty-eight thousand Acres of Land for servants imported into y^s^ Province, though y^e^ said Thomas Copley was known to be both a Priest and a Jesuit, and such did publickly profess himself.

Nor can this be wondered at, since both Clergy and Laity of all persuasions, and consequently of y^e^ Roman Catholicks among y^e^ rest, were ever deemed to be qualified to purchase, buy, sell or possess any lands or estates in Maryland. For First, they had a law that empowered them so to do, a fundamental and Perpetual Law, the law of Religion, where as above appears among other things it is enacted "that no one shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion," and can there be a more severe discountenancing, or a more disagreeable molestation, or a more sensible troubling, than to deprive a man of his birthright, to rob him of his subsistence, and render him incapable to buy, sell, or enjoy any estate whether real or personal, and this upon account or in respect of his Religion. Secondly; The usages and customs of Maryland have ever approved thereof; the courts

have acknowledged it, and that ye Crown has consented thereto, we may conclude, since ye law yt was its foundation, was printed in and published through all England and made publick, yt all Authors treating of this Province, mention ye same, and yet it was never contradicted or reversed by ye Crown, as I before observed. Thirdly; There neither is, nor ever was a law of Maryland to render them unqualified, to purchase and enjoy, to inherit or succeed unto any estate, either real or personal: and yt ye Penal Laws of England extend not hither was for seventy years and more the opinion of all in Maryland in courts and out of courts. Tho' some of late to secure wt may be justly deemed an Englishman's birthright, ye enjoyment of all beneficial laws, or laws of Privilege, wch were made in England before our first settlement, have unwarily advanced too much, in claiming all ye Laws of Great Britain: for should we examine into necessary consequence thereof so extensive a claim might be found to be not benefical, but highly prejudicial to, if not destructive of our constituion. But to leave the more exact and convincing solution of this difficulty to ye gentlemen of ye gown, I shall only observe we can rationally desire no more than to bring with us the Laws of Privilege; ye others being rather a burden on, and hinderance to a new Colony, than any benefit or advantage: and to have a power of making Laws, for ourselves and consequently of re-enacting here such laws as either have been (since our first beginning to make laws) or shall be made from time to time in England, wch we shall judge agreeable to our constitution, and for our advantage; whilst others that may be repugnant to or inconsistent therewith, are void and of no force. Nor can we wonder, if many such laws should pass in England, since ye Parliament is neither knowing of, nor interested in our affairs; and whether it be better for us who are so highly concerned in improving this Colony, and so feelingly sensible of our own interest, to make our own laws or to leave them to be made by such who are strangers to our constitution, and not only ignorant of but perchance unconcerned for our advantage, is so easy for an unprejudiced person to determine,

that I believe most will join with me, in advising such as will still insist for all the laws, to supercede this claim, till they have obtained two things of the Crown ; the first is, that our province may be freed from the unnecessary trouble and expence, of having Assemblys, for if all the laws of England should extend hither and we are not allowed to contradict y^e^ same, or to make laws contrary to them, as by our charter we are forbid to do, to have Assemblys, would be an unnecessary charge and a superfluous trouble. The second is to obtain leave y^t^ our freeholders may chose a sufficient number of delegates from among themselves that may be Representatives, and both sit and vote in y^e^ British Parliament, for w^t^ can be more reasonable, than that we ourselves should have a vote in those laws y^t^ are to bind us : and yet whether either of these would be granted by y^e^ Crown, or if granted, would be beneficial to this Province, I leave the disinterested and impartial to be judges.

But to return to our first and fundamental law; if what has been advanced be true, viz: that this law was to be perpetual, a branch of our constitution, and y^e^ birthright of a Marylandian, it may be asked, whence comes it? then y^t^ at present, there is not y^t^ equal share of all privileges enjoyed either by y^e^ Quakers or y^e^ Roman Catholics; to w^ch^ question I give our Saviour's answer: "Ab initio non erat sic," "from y^e^ beginning it was not so." It's true both y^e^ Quakers and y^e^ Roman Catholics, be they otherwise never so well qualified, nay and superior to many by their probity, judgment and erudition, as it may possibly sometimes fall out, are nevertheless excluded from all offices; "but from y^e^ beginning it was not so," and what is still harder, neither Quakers nor Roman Catholics are allowed to have a vote in y^e^ making of any law, tho' they and their late posterity must be bound by y^e^ same, "but from y^e^ beginning it was not so." And what is yet more severe, y^e^ poor Papist, (I may call him so without offence, tho' it was penal by our first Law, "sic tempora mutantur!") y^e^ Papists, I say, can neither vote in nor out of y^e^ house, neither be nor send a representative, but "from y^e^ beginning it was not so." That

Maryland should make these dissentions, and suppress those who most contributed to her first settlement, for (as Atlas Geographicus observes) "The chief adventurers were Popish Gentlemen of good families" is much to be wondered at. But that Maryland should deem a Papist unworthy to be a petty juryman or constable, whilst the Crown thought a Papist sufficiently deserving to be both her Proprietary and hereditary Governor, is most surprising. That Maryland should be worse than her promise, and deny y^e^ enjoyment of her fundamental law to any of her people, whose fathers were allured by the same to become her inhabitants, is more wonderful as well as more deplorable. I forbear enlarging on so melancholy and ungrateful a subject, lest our enemys should glory in our mother's weakness, or my love to Maryland should be questioned by the unwary. To silence those I would have them reflect, y^t^ Maryland, whilst herself, was never guilty either of partiality to some or of severity to others of her children; and to prevent the mistake of these I solemnly aver that my only motive of and design in w^t^ I have here touched upon, was to stop y^e^ mouths of y^e^ malicious, to heal our wounds and wash away all spots or blemishes that may be pretended to be discovered in our once so well united, so beautiful and so amiable Maryland, y^t^ it has ever been most justly esteemed the happyest Colony of y^e^ British Empire.

I say Maryland whilst herself, and I meant whilst governed by that noble and worthy family of y^e^ Calverts, to whom it was first given, by whom it was first settled, and under whom, it grew up and flourished to y^e^ envy as well as admiration of her neighbouring Colonies. During this time, which was for sixty years, our Proprietary was our Governor who was truly *Pater Patriæ*, a father of his people and had their interest and prosperity at heart, because his own if not y same, was nevertheless so interwoven therewith, that an injury to his people must necessarily be a loss to him; so hence what he had promised, and our assembly enacted into a stable law, Liberty of Religion and an equal enjoyment of all privileges was allowed to all without distinction, and that

not as an indulgence or a favour, but as their undoubted right, and an unalterable condition of their or their fathers' first settling here. Thus we enjoyed both peace and plenty during the civil wars in England and amidst all its unhappy changes we alone were unchangeable and still the same until the revolution, when our unhappy country could not escape the common deluge, and w^t^ was done here in opposition to our lawful Government could not fail of an approbation at Home, tho' in that unhappy conjecture the first fomenters of our disturbances were called to England and tryed for their lives; nor would they have escaped, it's thought, or their proceedings been unpunished, had not their judges thought that Maryland only copyed after England, and (as one of y^e^ Lords was heard to say) to condemn them would be to censure themselves.

From this epoch we may date our changes, not only in Government, but in manners, love and union, to and with each other; then it was prejudice and party set up their unhappy standards, and Religion which till then lay quiet and undisturbed, was discountenanced, brought to y^e^ Bar and confined to much narrower limits than she enjoyed before; and yet I do not find, either in history or upon record, that she was ever accused, much less legally convicted, of any trespass or offence against crown or state. But such was the will, such y^e^ pleasure of our new Governors sent in by the Crown, Governors that were strangers to our constitution, and unconcerned for our prosperity; Governors that came to fleece and not to feed; to raise their own fortunes not to advance ours; Governors who instead of healing our wounds, widened our breaches, fomented our divisions, and when no other crimes could be detected, made the Religion of some high treason, or at least a mark of disgrace, and a hindrance not only to promotion, but to y^e^ usual common and undoubted Rights and Privileges of a Marylandian. Hence they impose and require such oaths and conditions to qualify for office, that the Quakers and Roman Catholics are excluded from places; though for sixty years fidelity to his Lordship was y^e^ only requisite; this was the first and

open breach of our Constitution, and directly contrary to our above cited fundamental Law: tho' as to all other rights and privileges, both ye Quaker and Roman Catholic held their usual and equal share for fourteen years longer, that is till 1704, when Governor Seymore out of a pique against some private persons of ye Roman Catholics (who when the Governor had modestly demanded a purse well lined, had ye indiscretion or impudence, as it was then deemed to refuse the same) resolved, Haman-like for one Mordekæus, to ruin all; hence he puts his engines to work and at length brings forth an Act, entitled: "An Act against the growth of Popery," wch might have been more justly styled *An Act to extirpate Popery, Root and Branch*, because thereby their Clergy was forbid all exercise of their functions, and consequently the whole body was debarred of ye use of their Religion. But that it was not ye design of the Burgesses to carry things to that extremity, and how little a hand our country had therein, appears by the unwelcome reception this law met with, for when ye Roman Catholics complained of this hardship, the Assembly men unanimously declared that it was neither their design nor desire to forbid the free exercise of their Religion, and upon this the Governor is addressed so yt ye same Assembly might be called again wch accordingly was done three months after ye former, and there and then ye very same Assembly declared by and in a new Act for ye purpose made, and to suspend ye former Act, that their real intent was not to deprive ye Roman Catholics of ye use of their Religion as by ye preamble of ye said suspending Act more clearly appears: this suspending Act was to continue for eighteen months, or till ye Queens' pleasure should be notified therein, and this Act was further continued for twelve months longer, by a third Act to yt purpose made April, 1706. From wch Acts I infer first that neither Governor Seymore nor our Assembly were of opinion that ye penal laws of England extended hither, for to what end should they trouble themselves, or risk such a severe check, as they had from ye Crown by making a law for yt for which the Laws of England had

more severely provided, had they dreamed they had Laws ready made, in force and more severe. Secondly, that the general voice of the whole country is, that none should be debarred of y^e^ use, or be oppressed for or in respect of their religion. Well but how does this Law of Seymore relish at home? Not at all; for as the council records of England make appear, the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations were highly offended thereat and weighing the injustice as well as ill consequences thereof, first advised with the Bishop of London, and then, with him, addressed the Crown in an humble remonstrance; wherein they set forth and complain among other things, that this Law would deprive the Roman Catholics even of the private use of their religion, tho' in the most inoffensive manner, w^ch^ their Lordships *humbly* conceived was not her Majesty's gracious intention, and that y^e^ rigorous execution of y^e^ said Act would in a great measure tend to depopulate that her Majesty's profitable Colony; for these and other reasons they humbly pray that her Majesty would be graciously pleased, by her royal letter to direct the Governor of Maryland to represent to y^e^ Assembly of that province, That the Second Act (y^t^ is y^e^ Act suspending y^t^ against y^e^ Papists) be continued by a new Act or clause of an Act without limitation of time. This report or remonstrance was signed thus by—

Whitehall, ye third of Jan'y 1705-6.

H. LONDON. WM. BLAITHWAYTE.
DARTMOUTH. JOHN POLLEXFEN.
PH. MEADOWS. MATHEW PRIOR.

And here, before I proceed to the order sent hereupon to our Gov^r^ by y^e^ Queen and Council, I must observe that it was the joint opinion of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and y^e^ Bishop of London, first that y^e^ exercise of y^e^ Popish Religion tho' treason in England is inoffensive and therefore Lawful in Maryland. Secondly that to deprive the Roman Catholicks in Maryland of y^e^ use of their Religion was neither the gracious intention of her late Majesty Q. A. of blessed memory, nor is it of his present Majesty. Since y^e^ same motives still remain, indulgence to his peaceable subjects, and the advantage of so beneficial a

Plantation : for Thirdly to deprive y^e^ Roman Catholicks of y^e^ use of their Religion *would in a great measure tend to depopulate this Profitable Colony.* Because many, as their Ancestors had quitted their native Country, and preferred Maryland thereto, upon this consideration because there they might enjoy their Liberty and Religion, would be tempted to imitate their example, were they deprived, of this benefit, and transport their families and effects to some other country, where they might peaceably enjoy the same. Fourthly That y^e^ will of y^e^ Crown is a Law to Maryland, as well as to y^e^ rest of the Plantations, w^ch^ are therefore governed by y^e^ Prerogative, and not by the English Parliament and that we have power to make laws for ourselves, is a grant of y^e^ Crown and no inherent right, or such, as is independent of y^e^ Royal Pleasure: this is but a necessary consequence from their Lordships asking and her Majesty sending her positive order that such a Law should be enacted, whether our representatives approved thereof or no ; for there is no exception allowed of, nor conditions specified, such as, in case they should be willing and consent thereto. Lastly their Lordships thought it both just and reasonable that y^e^ Roman Catholicks should forever enjoy the free use of their religion, and that power of depriving them thereof ought only to be lodged in the Crown ; and therefore they petition y^t^ y^e^ Act by w^ch^ the use of their Religion was allowed them, should be continued by a new Act or clause of an Act without limitation of Time, and w^t^ is to exist without limitation of time I think is to be perpetual, or, w^ch^ is the same, is to last forever.

Well, and w^t^ then, some perchance may say, these Lords are neither our law-makers nor infallible, and perhaps they asked for more y^n^ the Crown either could or thought fit to grant, and might be answered, as y^e^ Apostles were, with a "Nescitis quid petatis, you know not w^t^ you ask." For her Majesty could not but be sensible, how dear the suspending power had cost her Royal Fathers, and therefore she would never hazard her Crown by ordering such an Act to be made, w^ch^ would be a suspending of y^e^ Penal Laws of England with a witness, for it is petitioned to be without Limitation of

time, that is, for ever; if ye said Penal Laws of England should be found to extend hither. This I must acknowledge is a weighty and startling difficulty and such as might justly have deterred, both ye Lords Comrs from asking and her Majesty from granting any such thing, had there been but ye least conjecture possible of the Penal Laws of England extending hither. Besides their petition would have been vain, for to wt end should they solicit ye Queen to obtain an order yt ye Roman Catholicks should not be prosecuted by Govr Seymours law, if they, that is the Roman Catholicks were liable to be prosecuted by the much severer Penal Laws of England, as they would, no doubt, were these in force in Maryland: would this secure to ye Roman Catholicks the inoffensive use of their Religion or prevent the depopulation of this profitable Colony, to free ye Roman Catholicks from ye lesser Penaltys of Seymours law, if they might be prosecuted upon and punished by ye Penal Statutes of England. If suffer they must, it mattered not by wt law or statute, whether of Maryland or of England: for as a criminal is not pardoned or freed from his punishment if die he must, tho' you change his gallows into a scaffold, and hanging into beheading; so it is but a trifling advantage, for a person that is arraigned, to take away ye milder whilst you indict him upon a severer statute; and such would have been the case of ye Roman Catholicks, such ye Petition of ye Lds Comrs of trade and Plantations, and such ye Royal favour, should ye penal laws of England include ys Province.

Well but the Lds Comrs petition and her Majtys Royal grant are not yt ye penal laws of England should be suspended, but yt a law of Maryland should be repealed or suspended by another law: why yes, I allow all this, but must beg leave to believe and observe, yt this is a convincing demonstration, yt the Lds Comrs petitioning and ye Queen and Council granting, both thought and knew that the penal laws of England did not extend hither; and yt no law besides yt of Seymours could debar the Roman Catholicks of ye use of their Religion, the reason is clear for had their Lordships or her Majesty imagined the severer Penal

Laws of England were here in force, or any others made in Maryland to y^e^ same purpose, they never would have trifled away their time, nor have troubled themselves about Seymours Law, w^ch^ was almost word for word y^e^ same with one made for England in y^e^ 11 and 12 of W (III) and was y^e^ milder of y^e^ two; nor have given so superficial a relief to the distressed; nor have so weakly provided against so great an evil, as y^e^ depopulation of so profitable a Colony. And had our Gov^r^ and Assembly thought as much, viz: y^t^ y^e^ Penal Laws, reached to and included Maryland they might have spared themselves y^e^ trouble, escaped y^e^ odium and not exposed themselves to y^e^ danger of a reprimand from y^e^ Crown, by executing y^e^ laws already made, rather than by making a new one of their own; and from hence I infer that neither England nor Maryland, neither Gov^r^ Seymour and our Assembly, nor y^e^ L Com^rs^ of Trade and Plantations, nor y^e^ Queen and Council were of opinion y^t^ y^e^ Penal Laws of England extended hither.

But least any should mistrust that this order of y^e^ Crown was fraudulently procured, or surrepticiously obtained, or that no lawyers were advised with, or few or none of y^e^ Councellors present when this business was transacted, I'll give my readers the satisfaction of a true copy of a transcript thereof, signed by y^e^ Clerk of the Council, and corroborated with y^e^ seal of his office. It begins as follows--

At y^e^ Court at St. James, y^e^ 3d of January, 1705,

Present

The Queen's most Excellent Majesty

His Royal H^ss^ Prince George of Denmark	L^d^ Gt. Chamberlain	Earl of Radnor
	L^d^ Chamberlain	Earl of Bradford
Lord Keeper	L^d^ Poulett	L^d^ Ch. Jus. Holt
Lord President	Mr. Bertie	L^d^ Ch. Jus. Trevor
Duke of Somersett	Mr. Boyle	Mr. Vernon
Duke of Ormond	Mr. Secre'y Hedges	Mr. How
Duke of Bolton	Mr. Secre'y Harley	

Upon reading this day at ye Board a Report from ye Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in ye following words: "May it please yr Majtys etc." (then follows ye said Report, ye substance of wch having been given above I shall here for brevity sake omit ye same, and continue ye copy from ye end thereof, that is, only give ye order yt follows this report, and was given there.)

"Her Majesty in Council was pleased to approve thereof, and to order as it is hereby ordered, that Col. John Seymour, Her Majesty's Govr of Maryland do forthwith represent to ye Assembly there, that ye Act above mentioned (that is in the report) for suspending the prosecution of any Priests of the communion of ye Church of Rome incurring ye penaltys of an Act of Assembly, entitled; An Act for preventing the growth of Popery, by executing his function in a private family of the Roman Communion, but in no otherwise whatsoever: be continued by a new Act or Clause of An Act without limitation of Time, according to ye said report and ye said Commissioners for Trade are to cause this signification of her Majesty's pleasure to be transmitted to ye said Govr of Maryland by ye first conveniance that shall offer."

JOHN POVEY.

And now, the candid reader and impartial judge, by comparing ye Report and order thereupon, and weighing well both ye request of the Lords and ye order of ye Queen in Councill, their design and method of proceeding, their words and expression, may safely conclude how groundless and unjust a surmise it would be to imagine, either that ye report was fraudulently procured, or that ye order was surreptitiously obtained; or yt no lawyers were advised with or yt few of ye Councill were privy and approving of ye grant For first, the Lords Commissioners before they applyed to ye Crown, had (as they say in their report) "considered of both wch Acts" (yt is ye Act against ye growth of Popery, and ye Act suspending ye same) "and advised thereupon with ye Rt. Rev. father in God, ye Ld Bishop of London, to whom the care of Ecclesiastical matters in ye Plantations

do belong." Secondly, this consideration was mature and made at leisure, and their resolution not taken in a hurry there being above twelve months between ye passing of ye last Act and their report, that being Dec. 9, 1704; this Jan. 3, 1705/6. Thirdly, they neither add to nor conceal part of ye truth, but confine themselves to ye two mentioned Acts and their natural and obvious consequences. Fourthly, they apply to most proper persons, first advising wth ye Bishop of London, and then addressing to ye Queen and not to ye Queen alone, but to ye Queen in Councill, where, as by their names appears, were not only ye chief of ye nobility present, but many of ye most eminent lawyers of England, tho' one, Holt alone, might have been sufficient. I would here conclude this subject, and with it my whole discourse, did not ye above order of ye Queen in Councill call upon me to draw some inferences from thence and add some observations thereupon: to be brief therefore, I infer first; That ye Penal Laws of England do not extend to Maryland, and that there neither is a law of Maryland, nor can be made, (without an order from ye Crown) to debar any of ye use of their religion, I say any, because in ye vulgar notion ye Rom. Catholicks may be thought the most obnoxious (how just I know not): for what safety would ye Roman Catholicks have received by having this Act suspended, had any other law in force whether of England or Maryland, forbid ye use of their Religion, and that no such law ought to be made, may be gathered from her Majtys ordering that Act of Seymour to be suspended for ever, or, as ye words are, "without limitation of time," wch is much ye same, as I above observed. For to order that they should never be prosecuted by yt Act of Seymour, is tacitly to acknowledge and declare that there was no other law by wch they could be prosecuted, and a virtual injunction of never making any other such law, before or till ye Royal pleasure be therein notified, as the words of ye Act made in compliance to the abovesaid order do impart.

I infer secondly that ye Queen and Councill, as well as ye Lds Comrs and Bishop of London, thought there was a

wide difference between England and Maryland so that w^t might be treason there, might be both innocent and lawful here; otherwise they would not have condemned a law in Maryland, w^ch only copyed after one in England and allowed y^e Roman Clergy to do y^t here, w^ch might cost them their lives there.

I infer thirdly that they all esteemed Seymour's proceedings not only as an undeserved hardship but as an injustice done to y^e Roman Catholicks, and therefore the order is absolute that y^e indulgence or Liberty of Religion shall be without limitation of time, and y^t *forthwith* such a law be made: and for this end the L^ds Com^rs are *required* to send the order *by y^e first convenience y^t shall offer*, to y^e Gov^r of Maryland, and why such order or such haste, unless they had thought it agreeable to both our charter and constitution y^t such liberty should be allowed to all inhabitants of this Province.

And here I must observe that we cannot doubt but y^e L^ds Com^rs having obtained their request did punctually comply with y^e injunction, y^e Queen was pleased to put upon them and send the abovesaid instructions to y^e Gov^r of Maryland, and since ships are continually setting out for y^t Province all January and February (the order being given on y^e 3rd of January) we must likewise conclude y^t y^e Gov^r had notice thereof before y^e next Assembly met w^ch was on and from y^e 2nd to y^e 19th of April following, tho' he took no care to comply therewith, nor even intimated y^e same, as we can find, but continued y^e suspending Act by a third Act for twelve months more: and in y^e ensuing sessions, w^ch was in the year following, he made y^e Act agreeable to y^e Queen's order, tho' even there he minced y^e matter and instead of making it as it was petitioned for by y^e L^ds Com^rs and ordered by y^e Queen in Councill, to impart y^t y^e suspension should be "without limitation of time,"words it thus in the title: "During y^e Queen's pleasure," and in y^e Preamble of y^e Act,he says that her Majesty,Q A.order was y^t y^e suspending Act should be continued by another Act or Clause of an Act "without any other limitation of time,

than until her Majesty's further pleasure be declared and signified * * * thereof," whereas y^e^ words of y^e^ order are very plain, y^t^ y^s^ suspending Act be made *without any limitation of time:* it's true y^e^ L^ds^ Com^rs^ in their report, after they had prayed y^t^ such an Act might be made "*without any limitation of time*, subjoined those words, w^ch^ *subjects y^e^ continuance or repeal thereof at all times to y^r^ Majesty's Royal Pleasure* which words were no part of the order, and therefore w^t^ y^e^ Gov^r^ had to do with them I know not; and can only bear this sense that altho' such a law will be perpetual and unchangeable by any power in Maryland, yet y^e^ same, as all other laws of Maryland are, will be subject to y^e^ Royal Pleasure, as to their continuance or repeal. That he meant y^e^ same y^t^ y^e^ Queen had ordered, we must suppose, and by her Majesty's words y^e^ law must be interpreted: but why he did not comply with the order till fifteen months after, whereas he held an Assembly twelve months before y^t^ and three months after y^e^ order was given. Perchance time may declare to those who are more skilled in politicks, than I either am or desire to be, and to bid farewell to my impartial reader, hoping he'll excuse my language, style and other deficiencys, and assuring him that it was a real love for both my country and truth and not an overfondness to appear in print, that prevailed upon me first to write and then to publish w^t^ little I knew of our charter and constitution. I conclude, that as Liberty of Religion and an equal share in all Priviledges laid y^e^ foundation of y^s^ Province and brought it to perfection, so I hope that all well wishers to this Province will contribute all they can to continue and preserve the same, since all things are best preserved by the same means by which they were first produced.

FINIS.

THE GENESIS OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF DETROIT. BY RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

Until within a few years, the "Cadillac Papers," were generally recognized by local writers as the documentary history of the founding, and of the first decade of the existence of the French colony of Detroit. The originals of these documents are on file in the archives of the Marine and Colonies, of the Government of France.

While Minister of the United States to the Court of Louis Philppe, 1836-1842, General Louis Cass, at his own expense, employed Pierre Margry, a young gentleman of ability, to examine these archives, which, it should be remarked, were voluminous, and in a very chaotic condition, and to make transcripts of such documents as related to the history of Michigan and especially of Detroit, during the French colonial era. These transcripts, when completed, were submitted to the General, who in some instances required, and received from M. Margry, explanations and marginal notes. Upon the return of General Cass to Detroit he placed these transcripts at the disposition of such of his fellow-citizens as were interested in local historical research; among them were several letters, memoirs, and statements, though not all, of M. de la Mothe Cadillac, the founder of Detroit. These were called the "Cadillac Papers."

The documents copied by M. Margry, are in some respects unimportant, but those relating to Detroit shed a great deal of light upon the first years of the young colony, and he who shed this light, was the founder himself.

In 1853, while engaged in editorial work in Detroit, Mrs. E. M. Sheldon obtained these transcripts from General Cass, and becoming deeply interested in their contents, conceived

the idea of having them published. She procured their translation and adding other historical matter, issued in 1856, "The Early History of Michigan, from the first settlement to 1815," N. Y., A. S. Barnes & Co.; Detroit, Kerr, Morley & Co., pp. 409. This book contained the genesis of the history of Detroit, during the earlier years of its existence; and for thirty years has been quoted without hesitation, by distinguished writers on local historical snbjects.

It is not my purpose to refer to the first four chapters, nor to that part of the work which treats of a later period than 1710; but it would be as well to state, that in 1842, the State of New York sent John Romeyn Brodhead to Paris, with instructions to transcribe all documents on file in the archives there, relating to the colonial history of New York; these transcripts were subsequently very ably edited by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan. Those in which we in Detroit are mostly interested, will be found in New York Colonial Documents Vol. IX, 4°, 1112 pages. This work contains collateral information of importance, supplemented with valuable notes by the editor, and covers a period extending from 1631 to 1744.

In the fifth chapter of Mrs. Sheldon's work, at page 99, may be read, "The directors of the Company of the Colony were Jesuits, and it was at their solicitation, aided by the united petition of the Jesuit Missionaries already established in different portions of the Northwest, that they succeeded in obtaining from the Governor General the appointment of Father Vaillant to accompany M. de la Motte Cadillac, and establish himself as missionary at Detroit.

M. Cadillac was a zealous Catholic, as his correspondence abundantly testifies, but he was a Franciscan and a cordial hater of the Jesuits; this fact was undoubtedly well known, as he did not hesitate to speak his sentiments in his official letters, and in his private correspondence; and a disposition to thwart his plans and purposes was soon manifested by that powerful and completely organized body. Many of the difficulties which subsequently arose in the colony, are clearly traceable to these personal dislikes.

Most readers would probably infer from the text that the trading company mentioned was owned and managed by Catholic priests, by Jesuits; and that the founder of Detroit was a member of the Order of St. Francis, or in other words, a priest of the Franciscan Order. The Canada Company, the corporate name of the trading company mentioned, owned in France and managed by seven Canadian directors, at that time, had the monopoly of the commerce of New France. When Cadillac founded the post of Detroit, the directors arranged a treaty with the Governor General, which gave this company control of the trade of Detroit.

The worst foes the missionaries encountered in their work of evangelization among the Indians, were the factors and traders of the Canada Company; who freely exchanged brandy with the Indians for their furs, and the unstinted supply thus obtained, worked ruin to soul and body. On this account particularly, this monopoly was energetically opposed, both in the Colony and in France, by the missionaries of the Society of Jesus. The cause of much of Cadillac's trouble with the Canada Company, arose from the fact, that two of their factors at Detroit were detected in private transactions and reported to Quebec.

The two parties implicated were related to some of the wealthiest directors of the company at Quebec, who persecuted Cadillac on this account, and sought the destruction of the post and colony.

Consequently when the founder of Detroit was in Montreal in 1704, he was arrested at the suit of the directors mentioned. Father Vaillant accompanied Cadillac ostensibly to perform the missionary work around the post, while Father Delhalle, a Recollect, was commissioned as chaplain. Both were exemplary priests, both having special duties. Father Vaillant was one of the most esteemed missionaries in Canada, as the annals of Canadian history will testify.

The sudden departure of Father Vaillant from the post of Detroit has been a puzzle to local writers. But the cause was very simple. Soon after the arrival of Cadillac he sent messengers to the lake tribes of Indians,

inviting them to come down and make their homes at Detroit. Now these tribes were under control of a missionary system, which had its centre in Michilimacinac. To remove and come to Detroit would break up these Indian missions, and this, the Jesuits, who conducted them, did not deem salutary for the spiritual or temporal interests of their neophytes. Hence their opposition, not so much to the establishment of the post and colony, but to the designs of Cadillac against their missions. The latter found Father Vaillant unwilling to co-operate with his plans and the missionary chose to leave, but not in the manner stated by Cadillac, but by canoe by way of the Lake Erie shore.

In the trial which resulted from the charges made by the Canadian directors of the Canada Company, Cadillac was acquitted, and in this connection occurs the writing of his vindication and the acceptance by Mrs. Sheldon as facts, of what was simply fiction, and in the acceptance of this fiction, the utterance of what, being founded on a falsity, was still more fictitious.

Impatient at his being prevented from returning to his post after his acquittal—"M. la Motte appealed to the Colonial Minister; by the next vessel he received orders," says Mrs. Sheldon, page 140, "to appear before Count Pontchartrain at Quebec. He obeyed these orders and remained at Quebec." Now comes the masterpiece of historical fiction as will be seen below:

"Highly indignant," begins Mrs. Sheldon, in chapter vii, page 142, "at the supposed failure of all his plans in regard to the establishment of Detroit, Count Pontchartrain met Cadillac with bitter reproaches.

"He was, however, permitted to make his defence, and the conversation which ensued between them was soon after committed to writing by M. la Motte, accepted by the minister as correct, and is still preserved among the colonial archives in Paris. The reader will find the following translation more satisfactory than any modern statement of facts."

This memorable meeting of the Secretary of State and

of the Marine and Colonies, under Louis XIV. and M. de la Motte Cadillac, is described as having taken place at the Chateau of St. Louis in Quebec the year heretofore stated.

Mrs. Sheldon's translation begins at page 142 and ends at page 204. It opens as follows: "Whence comes it," exclaimed the Count when Cadillac was brought into his presence, "Whence comes it, that you have failed to establish Detroit?"

Without continuing the further quotation of this paper, I shall refer to pages 144 and 146 in which the founder of the post speaks in a scurrilous manner, perhaps badly translated, of Father Vaillant. It was in connection with the disparagement of the standing of Father Vaillant, that the fictitious nature of the account of this interview was discovered.

In 1883 I began to write a history of Detroit from a Catholic standpoint, relying much for the earlier years upon the "Cadillac papers."

When the first ten years had been gone over, I submitted the manuscripts for the correction of such errors as it might contain, to Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in conformity with my custom of deferring to his judgment in all historical questions. Judge of my astonishment when I received the following letter from Dr. Shea:

ELIZABETH, N. J. April 22d, 1883.

My Dear Sir:—I have read your manuscript with interest; the "Cadillac papers" given in Sheldon, require close study and comparison with other documents. The conversation with Pontchartrain is evidently fictitious.

His correspondence with the Governor and Intendant, shows that he never came to Canada. This style of imaginary conversations is not uncommon; and as this document cannot be used as history, we may suspect some others of the same coinage.

There must be exaggeration in regard to Father Vaillant, whose stay at Detroit was very brief, as he appears a few months after in New York State.

I have always felt that these "Cadillac papers" must always be confronted with contemporary documents before

accepting their statement.

There is so much Detroit matter, moreover, that the founder need not occupy too much space and rash statements can be avoided.

Had the Secretary of State come from France to Canada, so important a fact could not escape Charlevoix, De la Potherie, and the Canada historians in our day; there would be in the annals of the convents, Ursulines, Hotel Dieu de Quebec, etc., some mention of the fact, but there is no trace of such a thing.

Yours most sincerely,

JOHN GILMARY SHEA.

R. R. Elliott, Esq.

Here was the strong fabric of our historical gospel history levelled to the ground by a few words from Dr. John Gilmary Shea,. The response to my appeals to local writers was not flattering to Dr. Shea, who was unmercifully accused of partisanship on the side of the Jesuits. The Cadillac papers were endorsed as the only reliable records of the times.

Convinced that Dr. Shea was right, I determined to investigate the subject in the interests of history. I then wrote to my friend Bela Hubbard, who was at the time in Europe.

DETROIT, November 26, 1883.

BELA HUBBARD, Esq., Paris.

My Dear Sir:—You are aware that General Cass, while Minister of the United States to France, employed M. Pierre, Margry, to take copies of the "Cadillac papers," on file in the archives of the Marine and Colonies, in Paris; which documents he very generously placed at the disposition of his friends interested in historical studies.

These papers have been translated and published in Mrs. Sheldon's work, from which quotations have been made from time to time, and quite recently by Judge Campbell.

Much of what we all believed to be the exact details of the first settlement of Detroit, has been drawn from these papers and published without fear of contradiction.

Having occasion to submit a memoir, which I had prepared on the "Colony of Detroit," for revision to Dr. John Gilmary Shea, I was surprised to learn from him that the authenticity of Cadillac's statements was doubtful.

Dr. Shea says, he does not believe that Count Pontchartrain, Secretary of State and for the Marine and Colonies came to America at the time stated by Cadillac, in his account of the interview he had with the Minister at Quebec, on the occasion of his trial there, upon the charges preferred by the directors of the Canada Company.

Dr. Shea says, he finds no records of such a visit in the archives of the convents and religious houses of Quebec and Montreal, and advises, that the statements af Cadillac, should not be accepted, without corroborative testimony.

I am sure Judge Campbell will be pleased, and I shall feel greatly obliged, if, while in Paris, you can ascertain the truth regarding the alleged visit of the Count de Pontchartrain to America, at the period mentioned.

Respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD R. ELLIOT.

In the following January I received the following response:

My Dear Mr. Elliott:—Your favor of November 26 last, found me in Spain, and as it was not my intention to return to Paris, where alone were to be found means for investigation, before spring, I wrote to M. Pierre Margry on the subject propounded in your letter.

M. Margry is unquestionably the greatest living authority on early Canadian history—and he has access to the archives.

He did me the honor to reply on the 28th of December last. As his letter relates in part to matters foreign to your inquiry I retain the original, but translate for you such portions as have interest in that connection. My Sir Oracle, as you will see, is as hard to interpret, as other celebrated oracles of old; I therefore took the liberty of again appeal-

ing to him, asking him to be more explicit; making use of Judge Campbell's name, and urging the importance to history of clearing up a matter which so directly concerned the veracity of Cadillac, and stating that it could not be difficult to determine from the documents in the archives in Paris, whether Count Pontchartrain visited Canada or not in 1704. To this appeal M. Margry promptly responded, and I send you his letter herewith.

I have also attempted a translation, to the best of my ability, (which is small) and which I presume is not entirely accurate.

M. Margry's chirography is somewhat cramped, and there are sundry erasures which cloud his meaning; perhaps Judge Campbell, who must be familiar with his writing, and is au fait in French, will assist you in in a better rendering of of its meaning.

I trust M. Margry's theory will prove satisfactory; as the Italians say *"si non vero e ben trovato."*

Yours truly,

B. Hubbard.

The following is the translation of M. Pierre Margry's letter to Mr. Bela Hubbard:

Paris, 39 Chaussé d' Antin.

January 9, 1884.

Sir:—The Count Pontchartrain never came to Quebec; evidently those who accept this idea are deceived, the statements of Mrs. Sheldon and of Judge Campbell to the contrary, notwithstanding.

But they would be equally deceived, were they, on this account, to discredit the statements made by de la Mothe Cadillac, in connection with his pretended interview with Count Pontchartrain.

These throw themselves upon the memoir of Nov. 14, 1704; to say that Count Pontchartrain was in Canada, since Cadillac held discussion with him; while others deny that

he was there, but admit that he wished to make it appear that he was there.

In truth I am astonished that these two ideas should have entered their minds.

In effect, Cadillac did not intend by his memoir of Nov. 14, 1704, to repeat a conversation which had not taken place, but in placing fictitiously *en scene*, the Minister and himself, giving their mutual replies, he sought to render more apparent the correctness of his own conduct.

He put into the mouth of the Minister, the observations, the objections, to which he, Cadillac, should triumphantly respond, thus aiding the Minister to think as he, Cadillac desired.

Cadillac prided himself upon his ability as a writer, having for Judge of the law a young Minister who admired people of spirit and Cadillac, the *savan* knowing it, sought to interest him by this dialogue, in which he anticipated his thoughts. Fontenelle had published Dialogues of the Dead, Cadillac imagined for himself a dialogue of people very much alive, but living far away from each other. It was original in management and piquant. There, sir, is my answer.

I regret that the rigors of history do not permit me to be more gallant with Mrs. Sheldon. As to Judge Campbell, whose work upon Michigan is otherwise very acceptable, he will pardon me if he remembers the *mot* of a French magistrate; "the Court renders judgments and not services." I can meanwhile assure him in all sincerity, that it will give me pleasure to be agreeable to him at all times.

Receive the expression of my most distinguished consideration.

PIERRE MARGRY.

Mr. Bela Hubbard,

Hotel de Londres, San Remo, Italy.

This correspondence triumphantly vindicated the reputation for thorough historical accuracy, of Dr. John Gilmary Shea; it shatters our idols here, and leaves us the necessity

of confronting every line we may use, from the "Cadillac papers," with some corroborative testimony that will establish its authenticity.

In closing I beg to add the following in regard to Father Vaillant.

Rev. Francis Vaillant de Gueslis, ordained at Quebec, 1675, (Liste Chronologique), Missionary at Fort Hunter, 1679; with the Mohawks, 1683. With Denonville's expedition against the Senecas in 1687. Envoy to Governor Dongan in 1688; at Detroit in 1701; with the Senecas in 1703–7; N. Y. Col. Doc. ix, 672.

This in a few brief sentences, is the index to the career of a distinguished Missionary.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

DESTRUCTION OF AN EARLY LIBRARY. "Governor Moore, with about five hundred more of this Colony, lately made an irruption into Florida, with hopes of taking the Castle of St. Augustine from the Spaniards, but were unfortunate, being forced to raise the siege and come home overland. This expedition, I am afraid, will cost the country £8,000. Our men did much mischief to the Spaniards by burning the town of St. Augustine and their Convent, and by other ravages through the country. They brought us hither a few prisoners (amongst which are three Franciscan friars) and about £200 worth of Church plate, which Governor Moore promised to our Carolina Churches and meeting houses."

"And to show what friends some of them are to learning and books, when they were at St. Augustine they burnt a library of books worth about £600, wherein were a collection of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the Holy Bible itself did not escape, because it was in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived, by the order of Col. Daniel, who is one of our Lord's deputies and of the Council here" Rev. Edward Marston to Rev. Dr. Bray, Charleston, Feb. 2, 1702. Doc. Hist. P. E. Church, S. C. 1 pp. 11–12.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE URSULINE CONVENT, CHARLESTOWN, MASS.

We are indebted to Rev. Thomas A. Reid, S. J., for the following letters, found among the papers of Mr. Benjamin Hawkes, now in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Luther F. Brooks.

Navy Yard, Charlestown, Aug. 12th, 1834, Noon.

My Dear H—

I arrived here safe although not so early as usual and am well. We had last night one of the most daring and successful mobs in this town that has perhaps ever been witnessed in this country if in any other.

I believe I told you something about a young nun that caused some excitement in this community last week, and of which a satisfactory account could not be obtained. The citizens, if they can be properly called such, of this town and Boston determined upon removing what they thought a nuisance, assembled in small squads about in this town at an early hour last evening, and about eleven o'clock set fire to a tar-barrel on one of the hills, half a mile from the Convent. This was a signal for joining all the squads in one and for action; they then proceeded to the Convent and demanded admission, they were told from the Chamber by the Lady Abbes, that they could not be admitted, but if they would come in the morning they might have free access to every part of the premises. This did not satisfy them, they kicked at the doors, broke the windows, but could not enter; they then procured axes and stove the front door in and a part of them entered; they were met by the Abbess, who expostulated with them and even (it is said) threatened them, but it was all of no use. They told her she must quit the house and every other person who was in it, and at the same time

forced her from it. The nuns then escaped by a side door, the persons inside then with torches explored every part of the Convent, threw out of the windows the furniture of every description and unhung the doors, kindled a fire with them in the middle of the parlours and commenced destroying Pictures (very valuable) Pianos, Harps and everything they could find, the fire at the same time raging.

The bells which began to ring on the burning of the tar-barrel and afterwards stopped, now began again to ring, and the engines again came from Boston. The noise was so great I could not sleep and after trotting from room to room looking at the fire I resolved to go to it and know what it was, it was a mile and a quarter from my lodgings and when I arrived and saw what was doing I was completely thunderstruck to see a building of brick, as large as the Franklin building in front, with two wings in rear, of half of the size of the front, an elegant Chapel or School, another large building covered completely with a running vine, large outbuildings and about forty cords of wood all on fire at once, and a dancing and infuriated assembly of men throwing the furniture into the flames. I confess it reminded me of the worst days of revolutionary France; after I arrived they fired several small buildings which I presume were washhouse, storehouse, woodhouse and etc., and at half past two I left them in their work of destruction and traveled to my lodgings. About five o'clock this morning they set fire to a large old dwelling house and barn full of hay belonging to the Convent and inhabited by the males who worked in the gardens and lands round the house; they then retired. When I was there, there was twelve or fifteen engines standing round and the enginemen looking on and although the canal runs within a few hundred yards of the Convent, not one drop of water was thrown on the buildings. The whole establishment was said to cost $100.000. The land alone is left of all of it. How differently it must have looked this morning from what it did yesterday morning, the gardens and walks were the most elegant that I ever saw. E. H. Derby's establishment although it cost $80.000 is not to be named the

same day with it for beauty and height of cultivation ; it is gone and with it the reputation of Boston and vicinity for an orderly city and the land of steady habits. All Europe and nearly all the world consider, as you very well know, such institutions as this sacred and holy ; there is no knowing what the end of this will be ; I fear there will be both blood and treasure expended before the Catholics will be appeased; to think otherwise, would be to presume that they were much more virtuous and forgiving than other Christians, you will have more of it soon. Part of the Commissioners of the Navy have arrived but have not visited the yard yet, but probably will on Thursday, I had a pleasant talk with the Commissioner yesterday he said E—s would be off in a day or two.

What I was talking with you about (George) can be obtained ; perhaps it will be well for him to come up here during the vacation and show the folks here his cleanly face and hands and pleasant manners. You had better not say anything to him about it, as he may blab it to all the world. My love to all the little ones, the baby in particular, and for yourself accept the assurance of my everlasting esteem and respect.

Yours B. H. Jr.

Four o'clock P. M. We have had a shower, some thunder and lightning but not much ; there appears to be more with you. The companies of Militita were ordered to be in readiness at a moment's warning to repel any riot that may occur in this vicinity. It is feared that the Irish may resent the injury done last night. The nun is well: had been seen by her friends last Saturday and could have left the Convent at any moment had she chosen ; there was therefore no cause their doing what was done last night.

Good bye, ever yours,

B. Hawkes.

Navy Yard, Charlestown, Thursday aft., Aug. 14, 1834.
My Dear Helena.

I yesterday afternoon received a few lines and a newspaper from you, and sent you a letter written the day before. I have no news to communicate; the excitement raised about the Convent has not yet subsided and I fear it will not until blood is let or property destroyed.

Last night almost every person in the town stood guard; the Police officers were multiplied, the draws on the Bridges were raised, and all persons not armed were desired to keep indoors, which I assure you was no restraint on me. I think at present no further attempt will be made by any one to violate the laws.

The Navy Commissioners and the Secretary visited the Yard this forenoon and were received with great attention; the Commissioners may stay a day or two but the Secretary will start soon for Washington.

You will not receive this until after George's exhibition, therefore nothing is necessary to be said about the distribution of the tickets. You and the girls must go if you please, I fancy you will have no very great treat.

Afternoon Friday.—My love to the little ones, I will be with you to-morrow; in meantime I am respectfully,

Yours,

B. Hawkes.

A Catholic Medal in Massachusetts.—Mr. S. L. Joyce, of Scituate, Mass., reports that recently in his town some workmen dug up a Portuguese coin and a brass medal, with the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child on one side, with the legend Dilecto Carmelo, and on the other St. Anthony of Padua, holding the Infant Jesus, with the legend San Antonio, D. P. No Catholics are known to have lived in the place till about thirty years ago.

ILLINOIS AND MIAMI VOCABULARY AND LORD'S PRAYER.

We are indebted for this relic of the old Catholic Missions to Wilberforce Eames, Esq., of the Lenox Library. The manuscript was at some one of the old missions early in this century, as words from it and the Lord's Prayer are given in the "Notice sur l' Etat Actuel de la Mission de la Louisiane," Paris, 1820, p. 49; Turin, 1822, p. 51.

It is a manuscript of 4 ll. containing 7 unnumbered pp. in double columns, 4to, and is in the Lenox Library. It was apparently written in the latter part of the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century. On the verso of the last (blank) page is the endorsement "Commencement d' un Dictionnaire de Langue Sauvage."

There is also a copy of this manuscript in the library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. It was made by Mr. Duponceau and forms No. LII of a collection recorded by him in a folio account book, of which it occupies pp. 159–162.

Like the original, it is without indication of date or name of author.

Elémens pour servir à la formation d' une grammaire des langues sauvages des Nations des PIAN, des ILLINOIS, des MI, lesquelles nations s' entendent parfaitement les unes les autres quoiqu' il y ait quelque différence dans leurs langues.

Elements to serve for a formation of a Grammar of the Indian languages of the Pian(keshaw), Illinois and Mi-(ami) Indians, tribes which understand each other perfectly, although there are some differences in their dialects.

Il n'y a point d' articles. There are no articles.

Pronoms personnels.—Personal pronouns.

Moi,	*I,*	NIRÀ
Toi, toi,	*thou, thee,*	KIRA
Lui,	*he,*	OUIRÀ
Nous,	*we,*	NIRONAN
Vous,	*you,*	KIRONAC
Eux-là,	*they,*	OUIRONAC

Pronoms réels—Real pronouns.

Une chose, *a thing,* ONANN. Il faut nommer la chose pour déterminer le pronom. The pronoun cannot be determined till the thing is expressed.

Pronoms possessifs.—Possessive pronouns.

Mon, mien.	*mine,*	NI	{uni avec la chose / united with the thing
Ton, tien,	*thine,*	KI	" "
Son, sien,	*his,*	OUI	" "
Nos, notre,	*our,*	NIRONAN	" "
Vos, votre,	*your,*	KIRONAC	" "
Leurs, leur	*their,*	OUIRONAC	" "

Exemples.—Examples.

Mon chapeau,	*my hat,*	NIOUIOUKOEN
Ton chapeau,	*thy hat,*	KIOUIOUKOEN
Son chapeau,	*his hat,*	OUIOUIOUKOEN
Nos chapeaux,	*our hats,*	NIRONACOUIOUKOEN
Vos chapeaux,	*your hats,*	KIRONACOUIOUKOEN
Leurs chapeaux,	*their hats,*	OUIRONACOUIOUKOEN

Moi-MÊME, myself, n' ajoute rien au pronom simple. Adds nothing to the simple pronoun NIRÀ.

Noms principaux.—Chief nouns.

Dieu,	*God,*	KISSERNANETOU	(maitre de la vie) master of life

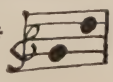
Eglise, *Church*, ANAMEANAMECUNQUE

(endroit ou l' on prie—place where they pray.)

Prêtre, *priest*, MECATEOCOROIATT (robe-noire.—black gown.)

Tout le monde,	*everybody*,	CIAKAMETOSEGUIAK
Frangais,	*French*,	OUAMATICOSIAH
Anglais,	*English*,	ANKIRASSI
Américains,	*Americans*,	MASSIPHA
Ciel,	*Heaven*,	KISIK
Beautems,	*fine weather*,	OUANEKISIK
Soleil,	*sun*,	KISIPOL
Lune,	*moon*,	KISIS
Etoiles,	*stars*,	RANKHOÁ
Terre,	*earth*,	ASCKIKHE
Fusil,	*gun*,	PAPIGOINÉ
Mer,	*sea*,	KECICAMENGUE
Rivière,	*river*,	SIPÜNG
Arbre, bois,	*tree, wood*,	TAOUANE
Beaucoup,	*much*,	MISSIRITOM
Peu,	*little*,	TAKAKOM
Homme,	*man*,	INIM
Hommes,	*men*,	ININIOK
Femme,	*woman*,	ICKOÉ
Femmes,	*women*,	ICKOEOK
Air, vent,	*air, wind*,	WOOUTIN
Vie,	*life*,	PEMATIS
Bon,	*good*,	OUAOUANECHEG
Mauvais,	*bad*,	MIANSEHKEG
Hache,	*axe*,	TACAHACAN
Corne,	*horn*,	OUIOUIRÀN
Capotte,	*coat*,	PISICÀ
Souliers,	*shoes*,	MAHKISSINA
Bas,	*stockings*,	TAPA
nourriture,	*food*,	MICIPEN
pain,	*head*,	PAHCOISICAN
eau,	*water*,	NIPI

farine,	*flour,*	NOQUIMIN
Mais,	*Indian corn,*	MICIPI
Chasse longue,	*a long hunt,*	MAMALAOUR
Chasse d' un jour,	*a day's hunt,*	NINAUTONAMAOUR
jour,	*day,*	KISIK
nuit,	*night,*	PECKONTEIG
matin,	*morning,*	CHAJEHPAH
soir,	*evening,*	CRACOIK
année,	*year;*	KICKATOUR
automne,	*autumn,*	TEGNAGHEGH
hiver,	*winter,*	PIPOUNGH
Printems,	*spring,*	MIROUCKAMENGH
Eté	*summer,*	NISSINONGH
chaleur,	*heat,*	LIRITEGH
froid,	*cold,*	RIPAHNOM
angue,	*tongue,*	WILEI
Mort,	*dead,*	WEEPEH
fête,	*festival,*	WIIDIP
bras,	*arm,*	NINIHKECK
ambe,	*leg,*	NICKAHTA
pied,	*foot,*	WISSIT
oreilles,	*ears,*	NITTAGAI
Visage,	*face,*	.....
yeux,	*eyes,*	ISCKENGICONGH
bien,	*well,*	KENTERANN
mal,	*ill,*	MIANLECKECK
Oui,	*yes,*	HAHA
non,	*no,*	MANENTOUI
bonjour,	*good day,*	KICKOA SITORCHEMON
reponse,	*response,**	OHOH
Priere,	*prayer,*	ANAMEHOA
Diable,	*devil.*	MATCIMANETOU
Esprit,	*spirit*	NAMISITCHÉ
Ecriture,	*writing,*	MASSANACICAN NIPIEIKEO

* 

Vérité,	*truth*	Eramouchò
Mensonge.	*falsehood*,	Kirackickei
amour,	*love*,	Tepaiého
haine,	*hatred*,	senchircoecok
guerre,	*war*,	nantopanih
paix,	*peace*,	Nackomanditiok
Pere,	*father*,	Nossack
mere,	*mother*,	Meckià
Mari,	*husband*,	Nampehemàn
femme,	*wife*,	ouionò
frère junior,	*younger brother*,	sihman
frère ainé,	*elder brother*,	silensa
soeur,	*sister*,	missen
fils,	*son*,	koisso
fille,	*daughter*,	tahanà
chevelure,	*scalp*,	tipagan
mains,	*hand*,	Nich
sang,	*blood*,	miskom
cheveux,	*hair*,	nississah
chefs,	*chiefs*,	chimaok
pipe,	*pipe*,	poagan
Tabac,	*tobacco*,	assemanohan
sac à fumer,	*tobacco bag*,	topac animoté
Couteau,	*knife*,	Marissa
armée,	*army*,	Tancapecik natopanecik
feu,	*fire*,	scotté
pluie,	*rain*,	chimialeh
maison,	*house*,	Ouitiame
un,	*one*,	nicote
2		nihsson
3		nihssoni
4		nihoni
5		niaharangh
6		kackatsoui
7		soatatsoui
8		paraharé
9		nicotemanecki
10		Mitatsoni

11		MITATSONI-NICOTE ATSÍ
&c. ajoutant,	*adding,*	ATSÍ
20		MISOUMATENÁ
30		NISSOIMETENÀ
40		NIHONI METENA &c
100		NICOTOAGEH
200		NISSON AGEH
1000		MITTAHSOAK
10,000		KICIOUAK
Argent,	*silver,*	SOONRIH
vol,	*theft,*	KIMOHOTENGH
aujourd' hui,	*to-day,*	NOUGON-INOKI
demain,	*to-morrow,*	OUABANK
matin,	*morning,*	CIAJESSÀ
hier,	*yesterday,*	ARACAHÉ
cheval,	*horse,*	NICOTE-CASHIÓ
chien,	*dog,*	OREMÒ
ours,	*bear,*	MOKKUOH
boeuf,	*ox,*	RENONSOAH
chevreuil,	*deer,*	MONSOAH
chat,	*cat,*	ASSEOPAN
mouche,	*fly,*	MOUSSIAC
castor,	*beaver,*	AMEKOÁ
poisson,	*fish,*	CHICONESSÀ
oiseau,	*bird,*	PINEUSEU
outarde,	*wild goose,*	NICAK
cygne,	*swan,*	OUABANKIA
cocq d' Inde,	*turkey,*	PIREOUAH
pigeon, tourterelle,	*wild pigeon,*	MIMÍ
vieillard,	*old man,*	KIOUSHIAH
jeune,	*young,*	COJONSÁ
jeune fille,	*young girl,*	COESSENSAK
tonnerre,	*thunder,*	NTATCAOUONE
avant,	*before,*	NITAM
chanter,	*to sing,*	NACAMOHOK
parler,	*to speah,*	KAROSSI
parle donc,	*speak then,*	KAROSSIRÒ
aller,	*to go,*	NIAROH

venir,	*to come,*	PIOUOH
Je suis retourné,	*I have returned,*	NTTAPOHEHÁ
J'aime cela,	*I like that,*	NTTAPATÀ
Je ne l'aime pas,	*I do not like that,*	NISSENCORAHECO
dépêche-toi,	*hurry,*	OUIOUIPICAOUÉ
allez doucement,	*go softly,*	OUIKKI
Je suis,	*I am,*	NIRONAI
J' en ai,	*I have,*	NNTATTOU
Je n' en ai point,	*I have none,*	NNTATTOUSSONS
tu en as,	*thou hast some,*	KITTATTOU
celui-là en a,	*he has,*	OUIRATTOUCH
nous en avons,	*we have,*	NITTATTOUMENÁ
vous en avez,	*you have,*	KIROACHITTATOU
ceux là en ont,	*they have,*	OUIOUACATTOUOK
Je suis malade,	*I am sick,*	NIMENTA
Je me porte bien,	*I am well,*	KIRAKIMENTA
Je ne mourrai jamais,	*I shall never die,*	ANSI CAOUCNIME PESOUKA
acheter, vendre,	*to buy, to sell,*	NTATAVOAH (traiter)
donner,	*to give*	KIMIRI
prendre,	*to take,*	NIMAHAMÉ
laisser,	*to leave,*	NAKATAMOKANE
faire,	*to do,*	NIVOASITTOU
commencer,	*to begin,*	KINNTA
finir,	*to end,*	SAYÉ
demander,	*to ask,*	MIRIROÚ
répondre,	*to answer,*	CAROSSIRÓ
craindre,	*to fear,*	NICOEHSSÁ
souffrir,	*to suffer,*	PEH KENTAROARE
gouter,	*to taste,*	GOUTANTÒ
tuer,	*to kill,*	NDANKIA
fuir,	*to flee,*	MANCIAOUÍ
manger,	*to eat,*	MIRNIICI
boire,	*to drink,*	NINICENÉ
dormir,	*to sleep,*	NÉESSÁ

Notre pere faites nous la charité, *Our father do us the charity,* KISSEMENETOU KITTIMINAOUERÒ

Qu' as tu a vendre? *What have you to sell,* KECKONEIA ETAVOEIAN

Une paire de souliers, *a pair of shoes*, MAKISINON KITATAMIRÉ

Il ne m'a rien donné, *he has given me nothing*, NIMIRI COSSI OUIKIKOU

Je m' en vais dormir, *I am going to sleep*, NEESSA–CATA

Allons ensemble à la chasse, *let us go hunting together*, MAMAOUÉNATON AMAOUIKA

Dinons ensemble, *let us dine together*, MAMAOUÉ MICITAOUI

Pourrais-je rester chez vous cette nuit? *May I stay with you to-night?* OUAHI NINÉ PACATA INOKI

Combien voulez vous de cela? *How much of this do you wish?* TAMI TASSU CATAMEHMANA

C'est trop cher, *It is too dear*, OUISSA KINANTOTAH

Tu es avare, *you are stingy*, ISSOUKIRÉ

Je vous remercie, *I thank you*, OUAOUAHINOU CKITACAM

Va-t-en, *get out*, MAN-CIAROU

Tous les hommes mourront, *All men will die*, CEHEKI KINÉ ESSEMINA

Connais-tu le bon Dieu? *Dost thou know God?* ENKOH KISSEMANETOU RETAMA

Je ne le connais pas, *I do not not know him*, ENKIKKEN RETANSON

Je le connais, *I know him*, H! H! ENKIKKEN RETAN

Etes-vous de la priere? *Do you belong to the prayer?* ENCOUH KIRÀ NARNEAK

Pourquoi ne pries-tu pas Dieu, *Why dost thou not pray to God?* KEKOANÉ ONCIANAMEA SEON

Etes-vous baptisé? *Are you baptised?* ENKOU SA SEPAREKOK

Mais c'est inutile, parcequ' il ne prie pas Dieu, *But it is useless because he does not pray to God*, H! H! SA SEPAREKOK

Ne pensez-vous pas à la mort? *Do you not think of death?* NEPÉ AN KI REPOASSÈ

Il ne faut point s'enivrer, *You must not get drunk*, KATAKI ONSKE BI KEKÒ

Je suis blanc, rouge, jaune, *I am white, red, yellow*, NIVOA BISSÉ, MISKOI, NASSAROAK.

Je suis noir, bleu, vert, *I am black, blue, green*, MACATE OSSI, OSKIPAKIA.

Le vent du sud, *South-wind*, SAVANINOTIN

ORAISON DOMINICALE.—LORD'S PRAYER.

Nossak Pemenke Kitaope, ceckimitousegnia tepará kissolimi, kirah debeheretamocané, cecki nironan, kirah cehecki deberetan ouahé aposi pemenki. Inoki micipeneh miricane. Oueni perà kirò cehecki mereo akek kisitojangh rapini-irà ni oueni piraki cehecki mereo akek nivoesit tacou. Catanossa deboe tavieh cané mereo akek kekoa sitojangh. Cecki mací mereo akek pakitamocané peroi nironan. Ouajak deboata ouiakann.

A. M. D. G.

THE DIOCESE OF BROOKLYN.

By Marc F. Vallette.

Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen erat Joannes.

The Diocese of Brooklyn was established by His Holiness Pope Pius IX, in 1853. It comprises Long Island, in the State of New York. The Indians are said to have called this island Sewanhacky, Wamponomon and Paumanake. The early Dutch settlers called it Matouwacs or Long Island, while to the early Catholic explorers (Spanish) it was known as the Isle of the Holy Apostles. Surely, no name could have been more appropriate than this latter, for it seemed to have been a forcast of that apostle "sent of God, whose name was John," and who, more than two hundred years later was to be its first resident representative of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.

Fifty golden years have passed away since three young men, class-mates at Mt. St. Mary's, Emmittsburg, Md., knelt in old St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, before the valiant Bishop Hughes, and received, at his hands the grand commission that sent them forth to preach Christ and Him crucified. They were Edward O'Neil, Francis Coyle and John Loughlin. On October 18th. 1840, these young men, full of zeal and energy chose "the better part" and devoted the rest of their lives to the service of their fellow men, at the altar. From that day forth they had no father save God; no mother save Mary; no wife save the Church; no children save their flocks. They might "suffer but they knew in whom they believed"* They "were set for the rise and fall of many." Father Coyle

*Vim patior, sed scio cui credidi.

was assigned to the missions of Sandy Hill, Lansingburg and Waterford. Father O'Neil became Treasurer and Professor of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at St. John's College, Rose Hill (now Fordham); while Father Loughlin was assigned to St. Patrick's Cathedral (Mulberry Street, New York,) of which he became Rector in 1848. While attached to the Cathedral he went for a time to Utica to assist the Rev. Father Quarter.

Fathers O'Neil and Coyle "have fought the good fight" and are now, we trust, enjoying the reward of their labors. Father Loughlin was reserved that he might plant a tree the wide spread branches of which were to offer refuge and consolation to the wounded hearts of thousands of the children of God.

In 1849, the Rev. John Loughlin was appointed Vicar General of New York, and in the same year we find him at the Seventh Council of Baltimore acting as Theologian to Bishop Hughes. He served in the same capacity at the First Plenary Conncil of Baltimore, in 1852. The Fathers assembled at this Council proposed to the Holy See the creation of several new Dioceses, among them the Diocese of Brooklyn. Pope Pius IX, of holy memory, approved of their designs and by an Apostolic letter of July 29th, 1853, erected the new Sees of Brooklyn, Newark and Burlington, Vt., in the province of New York. When it became necessary to make a choice of a ruler for the new See of Brooklyn, the eyes of the assembled Fathers fell upon the Vicar General of New York.

On the 30th day of October, 1853, old St. Patrick's Cathedral was thronged to witness a ceremony very unusual, in those days. Three worthy laborers in the vineyard of the Lord were to be elevated to the dignity of the episcopate—they were Very Rev. John Loughlin, V. G., or New York, for the new See of Brooklyn; Very Rev. Louis de Goesbriand, V. G. or the Diocese of Cleveland, for the new Diocese of Burlington, Vt., and Rev. James Roosevelt Bayley, Secretary to Archbishop Hughes, for the new See of Newark, N. Y. Bishop Bayley was promoted to the Archiepiscopal See of Baltimore in 1872 and died in 1877. Bishop de Goesbriand

had been a missionary and co-laborer of the late Bishop Rappe, in Ohio, and on the elevation of the latter to the See of Cleveland became his Vicar General and was laboring in that capacity when the Bulls came making him Bishop of Burlington. In June 1890, he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination. He still lives to carry on the work of his Divine Master. The consecrator of these three new Bishops was the Most Rev. (afterwards Cardinal) Cajetan Bedini, Papal Nuncio to the Brazils and then on a special visit to the United States. The consecration sermon was preached by the Most Rev. Archbishop Hughes.

Bishop Loughlin lost no time in entering upon his new field of duty. The Catholics of Brooklyn received him as Catholics should, and on Nov. 9th. his installation took place in old St. James Church now became the Cathedral of the new Dioecese. It would be difficult to describe the joy that filled the hearts of the little flock that went forth to welcome its future shepherd. Many Catholic Societies from New York joined those of Brooklyn in a grand procession, and over one hundred priests, (a large number for those days) from New York, Jersey City and Brooklyn, took part in the solemn ceremonial. It was, indeed, a happy omen ; it was the beginning of a glorious work; the bow of promise was set in the heaven; another John had come "to give testimony of the light that all men might believe through him," and, "to those that received him, he gave them power to become the sons of God."

Prior to the year 1822 there was not a Catholic Church on Long Island, but in that year (on January 1st.) the Catholic inhabitants of the Village of Brooklyn resolved that "whatever they did in word or work" should be done all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: giving thanks to God the Father, through Him. They wanted " their children instructed in the principles of our Holy Religion" and "more convenience in hearing the word of God themselves."

A society was formed, with the approbation of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Connolly, of New York, for the purpose of securing the ends in view and on January 7th. (1822) the first

meeting was held at the house of Peter Turner, (father of the late Vicar General Turner) at the S. E. corner of Washington and Front Streets. Associated with Peter Turner were James M. Laughlin and William Purcell. It was found after a careful examination, that only seventy men were able to give any assistance in the good work undertaken, and some of these, not being able to contribute money, generously offered the labor of their hands. On the 2d. of March eight lots of ground were bought at the corner of Jay and Chapel Streets for $800; of this amount $500 was paid in cash and a mortgage was given for the balance. It must be borne in mind that these good men, while acting with the approval of the Bishop of New York, under whose jurisdiction Brooklyn was at that time, were also working under great disadvantages. They were without the aid of a priest and although they made many earnest and repeated requests for one there was none to give them. They were entirely dependent upon the kindhess of Very Rev. Dr Power, of St, Peter's Church, Barclay Street, New York, who whenever opportunity offered crossed East river in a row boat and said Mass in a private house. Sometimes his place would be taken by Fathers Philip Lariscy, Richard Bulger, A. McCauley, Michael O'Gorman, Patrick McKenna and others, and these good Fathers would offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in Mr. Dempsey's "Long Room," in Fulton Street. The first Mass celebrated in Brooklyn was by Rev. Philip Lariscy at the residence of William Purcell at the N. E. corner of York and Gold Streets.

Perseverance such as these good Catholics displayed in the face of so many difficulties, could not go unrewarded; they had purchased ground for the erection of a church and also for a burial ground; they had had this ground blessed on the Feast of St. Mark, (April 25th,) by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Connolly, and they had taken courage from the kind words of Rev. Father Bulger, who preached on that occasion. Slowly but surely the first Catholic Church in Brooklyn advanced towards completion. On Dec. 31st, 1822, the following Trustees were incorporated under the general Act: George S. Wise, Peter Turner, William Purcell, D. Dawson,

P. Scanlan, W. McLaughlin and J. Rose. The work went on but still it was impossible to give them a resident Pastor.* On the 28th of August, 1823, Bishop Connolly dedicated the new church to the honor and glory of God, under the invocation of St. James. The interior of the church was yet unfinished, and upon an altar constructed of a few boards roughly put together, the Rev. John Shanahan said the first Mass. The sermon was preached by the Very Rev. Dr. Power. On the 12th of the following month J. Mehaney was appointed school-master and sexton, with the care of the burial ground which had just been leveled and fenced in. The amount of money expended up to this time was $7,118.16 The most strenuous efforts were still made to secure a resident Pastor. The Rev. Father McKenna, who had ministered to these persevering and energetic Catholics, with some degree of regularity, died on the 4th of October, 1824, and was buried in St. James' churchyard. This was a severe blow to the new and struggling congregation; they were not discouraged, however. In January, 1825, they sent through the Very Rev. Dr. Power, some $220 to Ireland, to the Rev. Father Duffy, in the hope of obtaining his services as their pastor; but as he declined to come, at that time, the money was returned. It was not until the April following that Dr. Power, acting as administrator of the Diocese of New York, (the Bishop being in Europe at the time) was able to send a pastor to St. James.' This was the Rev. John Farnan, who became "the first resident clergyman and who received $600 a year and house rent free." The Rev. John Farnan labored at St. James' until 1832. In 1828 he introduced the Sisters of Charity, who took charge of a school opened in the basement of the church. In 1832, Father Farnan was succeeded by the Rev. John Walsh. Father Walsh made his studies at Montreal, and was ordained in 1827 by Bishop Dubois. He is regarded by many of the old Catholics of Brooklyn as the real founder of the Mission. His pastorate extended over a period of ten years and was marked by zeal for the welfare of his people. Besides St.

*Bishop Connolly had only eight Priests in his entire Diocese at this time.

James' Father Walsh visited the Catholic families at Sag Harbor, Flushing and Staten Island. In 1834 an Act was passed "incorporating the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society in the City of Brooklyn, in the County of Kings." From this we see that the building of the church was soon followed by a move towards the education of Catholic children and a tender care for the orphan.

During his pastorate at St. James' Father Walsh was assisted successively by the Rev. James Dougherty, who died on March 29th, 1841; the Rev. Philip Gillick, Rev. Patrick Donaher, and the Rev. J. McDonough. In 1842 Father Walsh was transferred to Harlem, where he died in 1852. His successor at St. James' was the Rev. Charles Smith.

In the mean time the Catholics of Brooklyn had been increasing in numbers. They began to scatter over the city and soon St. James' was too far away to suit the convenience of those who lived the other side of Fulton Street. The truly Catholic perseverance which had marked the early struggles of the people of St. James' had strengthened their faith and awakened a spirit of self-sacrifice. Cornelius Heeny, a man of means, and of heart too, was ready to do his part towards the erection of another church. In 1835 he gave a piece of land, valued at $8,000, situated at the corner of Court and Congress Streets, and in the following year a new church, under the invocation of St. Paul was erected here. It was built of brick, 72 feet by 125 feet, at a cost of somewhere about $20,000. The debts incurred in its erection were shared by the generous people of St. James,' a truly Christian but somewhat unusual proceeding nowadays. St. Paul's Church was dedicated by Bishop Dubois and his Coadjutor, the Right Rev. John Hughes, D. D. The first regular Pastor was the Rev. Richard Waters, who remained only two years, (1838--1840) but in that time he opened a parochial school which he placed under the care of the Sisters of Charity, and he inaugurated other good works. He was succeeded by the Rev. Nicholas O'Donnell, O. S. A., who,

with his brother, the Rev. James O'Donnell, also a Hermit of St. Augustine, came from Philadelphia and labored, not only at St. Paul's, but at many places on Long Island. Father Nicholas O'Donnell was evidently a man of learning and of literary tastes. It was under his editorial management that the first issue of the *Catholic Herald*, the first Catholic paper published in Philadelphia, appeared on January 3rd, 1833. In 1844 he appeared, in connection with his brother, the Rev. James O'Donnell, and the Very Rev. John Hughes, (afterwards Archbishop of New York) in a suit against the County of Philadelphia, to recover damages for the wanton destruction of St. Augustine's Church, (Philadelphia) during the Native American Riots of that year. In 1846 he was recalled to Rome, much to the regret of his parishioners at St. Paul's.

Father O'Donnell was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph A. Schneller, whose long pastorate is still remembered by the older Brooklynites. He was ordained by Bishop Dubois in 1827, and was identified with the Jesuits in the early part of his career. He was a man of literary tastes and was for a time connected with the *New York Weekly Register* and *Catholic Diary*. Before taking charge of St. Paul's he had been pastor of Christ Church, New York, and of St. Mary's Church, at Albany. While in the latter place he engaged in controversy with the Rev. Dr. J. N. Campbell, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in that city and replied to his pamphlet entitled "Papal Rome." He also published a reply to the Rev. Dr. Sprague's pamphlet entitlet "Protestant Christianity contrasted with Romanism." Father Schneller died Sept, 18th 1862, and was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Maguire.

In the meantime, Father James O'Donnell had been extending the field of his labors to Williamsburg. In 1841 he built St. Mary's Church. Three years before (1838) Father Dougherty went over from St. Mary's Church (Grand Street) New York, and said Mass in Williamsburg, in a stable on Grand Street. This was not, as some suppose, the first Mass said in Williamsburg, because records show that Father

John Walsh, of St. James' and his assistant, Father Bradley, visited Flushing, Staten Island and Williamsburg in 1837, and they may have gone there as early as 1836. In 1839 Flushing was visited once a month by the Rev. Michael Curran, who also attended Harlem and Throgg's Neck. Father O'Donnell was connected with St. Mary's Church until 1844. From here he ministered to the Catholics at various points on Long Island. We find traces of his work at Jamaica, Sag Harbor, Flatbush, and elsewhere. He died in Boston, April 7th 1861.

The successor to Father O'Donnell at St. Mary's Williamsburg, was the Rev. Sylvester Malone, the present (1891) greatly beloved and justly respected Pastor of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul. He was born at Trim, Ireland on May 8th 1821. He came to this country in 1838 and at once entered the Seminary at La Fargeville, Jefferson County, N. Y. and a year later he was transfered to St. John's Seminary, Fordham, when he completed his ecclesiastical studies. On August 15th, 1844, he was ordained priest by the Rt. Rev. John McCloskey, D. D., coadjutor to the Bishop of New York. With him were ordained Rev. John Sheridan, Rev. Thomas McEvoy, Rev. William O'Reilly, Rev. Matthew Higgins, Rev. George McCloskey, Rev. Patrick Kenny. Of these seven priests then ordained, Father Malone is the only survivor. We shall have occasion to refer to him in connection with the church of which he is now pastor.

The year 1841 was a church-founding year for the Catholics of Williamsburg. It was in this year that the Rev. John Raffeiner, the "apostle of the Germans" in this section of the country, gathered his scattered countrymen around him, and out of his own purse bought ground and erected a church, which his pious soul led him to dedicate to the Most Holy Trinity.

Old St. James parish had been growing all these years, and another division of the parish was made in 1842. This time the new church was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of the Assumption. This church had been commenced some years before by Father Farnan, while

under ecclesiastical censure. It was his intention to establish an Independent Catholic Church, but as his congregation did not respond to his needs, the church remained in an unfinished condition for some years. In 1841 it was bought by Bishop Hughes, who placed it under the pastoral charge of the Rev. David W. Bacon. He completed the building and had it dedicated under the above invocation, on June 10th, 1842. Father Bacon was a hard worker and hesitated at nothing. He would dress the altar himself and he has been known to cut out the cassocks worn by his altar boys. His congregation grew rapidly and demonstrated the necessity for further church extension. He was largely instrumental in the erection of the Church of St. Mary, Star of the Sea, but before its completion he was called to a higher dignity and a broader field. He was consecrated Bishop of Portland, Maine, in 1855. His successor was the Rev. William Keegan, who had been his assistant for some time.

Father Keegan was born in Kings County, Ireland, in 1824, and came to this country in 1842. He graduated from St. John's College, Fordham, in 1849, and continued his theological studies and acted as Professor, until October 16th, 1853, when he was ordained by the Most Rev. Cajetan Bedini, Archbishop of Thebes and Papal Nuncio to the United States. He was almost immediately appointed Assistant at the Church of the Assumption, and, on the promotion of Father Bacon to the See of Portland, he became its Pastor. It was not long before he enlarged and beautified the church. Some time later he erected, what was then, one of the finest parochial school houses in the country. In 1880 he was appointed Vicar General of the Diocese, and he held that honored position up to the time of his death, May 10th, 1890.

We have seen that old St. Mary's Church (North Eighth and First Streets,) Williamsburg, was commenced in 1841 by Father James O'Donnell. It was an unpretentious wooden structure, but it was a start; and the Catholics of that day, for a long distance around, were wont to bury their dead in its immediate vicinity. The little church has long since

disappeared, but the old tomb-stones stood for fifty years and told the Catholics of to-day who had been the founders of their parish. Last year (1890) they disappeared, the dead were removed to Holy Cross Cemetery and the ground will probably be sold for business purposes. The history of the old church, though brief, is not devoid of interest because of the mighty tree that grew from this little mustard seed. It was dedicated in 1843 by Bishop Dubois and the sermon was preached by Father O'Donnell. On the same day a Temperance Society, the first in Brooklyn, was established by the Very Rev. Dr. Felix Varela, V. G., of New York. In 1844, just after his ordination, Rev. Sylvester Malone became its pastor. He found a debt of $2,300, no small amount in those days, staring him in the face. His people, too, were scattered over a large extent of territory, for his parish extended to Hallett's Cove on the North, Myrtle Avenue on the south, Middle Village on the east, and the East River on the west. Before the end of three years, by energy and trust in God, he secured not only the payment of this debt but in the purchase of a site for a new church in a more eligible locality "convenient for the Catholics of the fourteenth as well as those of the thirteenth ward, which were the only settled sections of Williamsburg," at that time. On May 11th, 1847, Bishop Hughes laid the corner-stone of the present church of St. Peter and Paul, (Second Street near South Second) and work proceeded so rapidly that it was dedicated to the service of God on Sunday, May 8th, 1848. The years that followed were years of labor and suffering to the good pastor and of anxiety to his people. In 1849 Father Malone fell a victim to that dreadful scourge, the small-pox, contracted while attending to his duties. Scarcely had he recovered when the cholera broke out in his parish. It is needless to say that the good priest was at his post and that he again shared the maladies of his people as well as their troubles. Misfortunes never come alone, and hardly had he recovered from this second attack when the scourge of ship-fever fastened its grip upon him. St. Peter and St. Paul prayed for him and Father Malone,

happily, lives to this day to bless a flock by whom he is revered.

"He wears the marks of years well spent,
Of virtue, truth well tried, and wide experience.
Age sits with decent grace upon his visage
And worthily becomes his silver locks."
————————the poor, the pris'ner,
The fatherless, the friendless, and the widow,
Who daily own the bounty of his hand,
All cry to Heaven, and pull a blessing on him."

A nature like Father Malone's shrinks from that publicity which personal interest too often courts and his wishes should be respected. It may be permitted to say of him, however, that he holds a place in the hearts of non-Catholics as well as in those of his own people. In 1854 he went to Rome to be present at the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. During his absence the anti-Catholic prejudice that had manifested itself in the burning of churches in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and in the destruction of Orphan Asylums in Boston, reached Williamsburg, and threatened Father Malone's church. As the Know-Nothing rioters advanced they were met at the church door by Mayor Wall (a non-Catholic) who declared that he would protect his absent friend's church, if it cost him his life. The church was saved and stands to-day as a noble monument to charity and good will among men.

As far back as 1846, the Catholics of Gowanus and vicinity were looked after by the clergy of the other churches, as the opportunity offered. Father Peter McLaughlin gathered them together in a small wooden structure and organized a parish. The old church was replaced by a much more suitable edifice in 1850. St. Patrick's Church at Fort Hamilton, was built in 1849.

It was a long distance from old St. James' and the Church of the Assumption to Father Malone's Church in Williamsburg, and yet they were "adjoining parishes." The number of Catholics was growing in this long stretch of territory and they began to feel that there ought to be a

church situated somewhere in the Wallabout region. The Catholic laymen of old St. James' had gathered together, subject to the Bishop, of course, and built a church and then waited until the Bishop could give them a priest. Why could not this be done again? There was a public house on the old Newtown Road (now Flushing Avenue) kept by a Mr. Mackey, an Irish Catholic. Here, some time in the early forties, a number of Catholics were wont to meet and talk over the need of a church. They were earnest men and meant business. They agreed that each man should contribute a certain amount and finding that they had every prospect of success, they began to look around for a suitable lot. Their patron saint befriended them. A small frame Methodist meeting house on Kent Avenue near Willoughby Avenue, was purchased with two lots of ground, from the minister, who found fishing more profitable than preaching, for something like $3,000. These happy sons of Ireland immediately set to work to make such alterations as would transform their new property into a Catholic Church. This done they petitioned Bishop Hughes to send them a priest, but he had none to give them; yet, with the example before them of the old St. James' people twenty years before they had "learned to labor and wait," until, finally, in 1843 the Rev. Hugh Maguire, who had been laboring among the French Canadians of St. Lawrence County was given them as Pastor. Before six months had passed away he found it necessary to enlarge the old church. Later on a basement was added, in which he opened a school for the children of his constantly growing congregation. Ten years had passed away since the first meeting at Mackey's "house of call," and the little mustard seed had been growing steadily. Brooklyn no longer had to depend on New York for its priests. It had now a Bishop of its own and his far-seeing eye was not long in telling him that a new and much larger church must be built at once. The corner stone of the present beautiful edifice was laid on November 5th. 1854 and the new St. Patrick's Church was dedicated to the service of God in August 1856. The old church was turned into a school house and was used as such for many years. Among its

teachers may be mentioned Manly Tello, Esq., editor of the Cleveland *Catholic Universe*, and Mr. John Gallagher, now principal of the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers. The old building in time, gave way to the splendid Academy for boys, which was placed under the care of the Franciscan Brothers. The girls were provided for in the large asylum back of the school and conducted by the Sisters of Mercy. After a pastorate of nineteen years Father Maguire was succeeded by Rev. P. C. Fagan, (1862 to 1865); Rev. E. G. Fitzpatrick (1855 to 1872) and by the present, (1891) pastor the Rev. Thomas Taaffe.

"Father Thomas" as many of his people love to call him, was born at Dromard, County Longford, Ireland, in 1837. He made his ecclesiastical studies at the well-known missionary college of All Hallows where he was ordained, in 1863. He came to this country immediately after his ordination and labored, successfully at the churches of St. Mary, Star of the Sea, and at our Lady of Mercy, in Brooklyn. It was while at the latter place that he evinced that executive ability which pointed him out to Bishop Loughlin, as the man who alone was able to lift St. Patrick's Church out of the financial difficulties in which it was involved. Hardly had Father Taaffe put the church of Our Lady of Mercy on its feet and was justly entitled to a season of rest, when he was sent to face a debt of over $70,000 at St. Patrick's.

He had taken the vow of obedience to the will of his superious and without a murmur, he removed to his new field of labor. But before he could begin to cut down that debt he was obliged to put $20,000 more to it. The parochial house was unfit for habitation; his congregation was growing and would soon require more priests to meet their wants. A suitable house must be provided and that immediately. The work was undertaken; the house was built and two additional lots were purchased for school purposes; and what is better still, the church is now out of debt.

We have spoken of the church of the Holy Trinity which Father Raffeiner had built on lots purchased with his own money, in 1841. The German Catholics of Williamsburg

had been growing to such an extent that their old church became too small to accommodate them, and on June 29th 1853 the Most Rev. Archbishop Hughes laid the corner-stone of a second and larger church of the Holy Trinity. Father Raffeiner labored here until 1861 when he went to his reward. Few priests have done more for their people than good Father Raffeiner. He was born at Mals, in the Tyrol, on December 26th. 1785 and received in baptism the name of John Stephen. From his tenderest childhood he displayed those qualities of piety, firmness and perservance which distinguished him in after life. His early manhood was not devoid of struggles. The agitated condition of his country and the imprisonment of Pope Pius VII, made him almost despair of reaching ordination. For a time he devoted himself to medicine, with no little success, but his yearning for a life in which he might spend himself for the benefit of his fellow men grew stronger with his knowledge of the inner life of men. He resolved to resume his theological studies at his old home in Tyrol. On May 1. 1825, at the age of forty he had the happiness of seeing the realization of his life long desires ; by receiving the commission that enabled him to cure souls as well as bodies. In 1832, he came to America to minister to to the needs of his country-men in these regions. He arrived in New York on January 1. 1833, and was warmly received by Bishop Du Bois who prevailed upon him to remain in New York. From that time until the day of his death he devoted himself to the service of God and of his people. He extended the fruits of his labors to Boston, Buffalo, Syracuse, Patterson, etc., and at the time of his death he could point to thirty churches in New York State that owed their origin and prosperity in one way or another to his zeal and devotion. Of his labors in Williamsburg we have already spoken, He died in July 16th 1861, and was succeeded as pastor of the church of the Holy Trinity by the Rev. Michael May, the present honored Vicar General of the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Very Rev. Michael May, V. G., was born at Waldkirch, Bavaria, June 2d 1826, and was ordained on July, 19th 1851. After eight years of service in his native land, he determined

to come to America and arrived in New York on March 2d, 1859. Bishop Loughlin accepted his services and, at once, assigned him to duty at the church of the Most Holy Trinity, Father Raffeiner found him *ein priester nach dem herzen Gottes.* and felt that he would have, in Father May a successor who would carry on the work of the parish as he had planned it. The care of the young, the orphan and the sick commended themselves to him, and his wisdom and prudence may be seen in the magnificent church he has reared to the service of God; in the flourishing schools with their 1500 children; in the Orphan Asylum with its 400 inmates, in the hospital which has during the last year opened its doors to 1,697 males and 622 females besides the 400 who received dispensary treament.

Bishop Loughlin has not failed to manifest his well deserved appreciation of Father May's work by making him Vicar General.

(To be continued.)

NEW YORK IN 1831.

From an introductory letter from Lady Wellesley I was privileged to call on the Catholic Bishop of New York. He is a pleasant and intelligent man, and has a cast of countenance very similar to what we often find in pictures of cardinals and popes With this gentleman I had a long conversation, during which he flattered me by saying that I should obtain much encouragement in America. He informed me that there were upwards of 30,000 Roman Catholics in and about New York. A large flock he observed and many of them very ignorant; but I find a great deal of good feeling among them and a tractableness which is very gratifying.

"The Catholic Bishop made a somewhat curious remark, which I did not soon forget; that the Protestants and Roman Catholics are approximating rapidly toward each other and that we shall be Catholics in the end."

Rev. Isaac Fidler's Travels in 1831. Published in 1833.

WAS THERE A JESUIT COLLEGE AT KASKASKIA IN THE DAYS OF THE FRENCH?

After the English conquest of Canada and the occupation of the territory North-west of the Ohio by British authority, references are found in correspondence and in time in print, to a Jesuit college at Kaskaskia, Illinois. As the Jesuits had all been carried off at the cession of the country to England in pursuance of orders from the Superior Council at New Orleans, there were no Jesuits in Illinois when the British troops after great endeavor reached Fort Chartres to take possession of the Western Country, although one Father, Sebastian Meurin in time was allowed to return to the Spanish side of the Mississippi and eventually took up his abode in Illinois. English writers, therefore, in speaking of a Jesuit College could not speak of any actually existing in Illinois, but of something that they had been led to believe existed under the French rule.

The earliest reference is in a letter written June 27. 1779 (Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol 9. p 338) "The Kaskaskia is no ways fortified, the fort being still a sorry pinchetted enclosure around the Jesuit College."

In the Prefatory Advertisement to The American Practical Brewer and Tanner, By Joseph Coppinger, New York 1815 we read: "The more so, when it is known that in the reign of Louis XIV., the merchants of Bordeaux presented a memorial to that monarch praying him to put a stop to the importation of the wines of Kaskaskias into France, as likely, if permitted, to be injurious to the trade of Bordeaux. There was at that time a College of Jesuits established in that country, the superiors of which caused the wine to be cultivated with great success, and quantities of it were at that time sent to France."

Any account of such a College must be sought in French writers between 1700 and 1763. Charlevoix, the Historian, visited Kaskaskia and wrote from there October 20th. 1721. "I arrived at the Kaskaskias the next morning at nine o'clock. The Jesuits had a flourishing mission there, which has just been divided into two, as it was deemed expedient to form two villages of Indians instead of one. The most populous is on the bank of the Mississippi. Two Jesuits, Father le Boullanger and Father de Kereben have spiritual charge; half a league lower down is Fort Chartres, a gunshot from the river. Mr. Dugué de Boisbrilland, a Canadian gentleman, is Commandant there for the Company to which this post belongs; and all the space between begins to be settled by French people. Four leagues further down, a league from from the river, is a large settlement of French, almost all Canadians who have a Jesuit, Father de Beaubois, as parish priest. The second village of Illinois is two leagues off, and further inland. A fourth Jesuit, Father Guymonneau has charge of it. The French are very comfortable here. A Fleming, employed by the Jesuits, has taught them to plant wheat which succeeds well. They have horned cattle and poultry." "The French village is bounded on the north by a river, the banks of which are so steep, that although the water sometimes rises twenty-five feet, it rarely leaves its bed."

It is evident that he found no educational establishment there, all his fellow religious being employed on the mission.

There are several letters from Jesuit Fathers in the Illinois country in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, all of which are given in English by Bishop Kip in his "Jesuit Missions," but there is not a word in any of them that can give the slightest foundation for any theory that the Jesuits had a College at Kaskaskia. The "Bannissement des Jesuites de la Louisiane" (Paris 1865) is equally silent. It is a contemporary document, and mentions only six chapels and houses occupied by the Fathers (pp 35-36) but has not a word about a College. The account of the seizure of their property at Kaskaskia (pp 35-6) mentions only their residence.

Jefferys in "The Natural and Civil History of the French

Dominions in North and South America" London 1760, describes the Illinois country (pp 137-8) but the story of a College at Kaskaskia finds no support in his pages. None of the French documents collected by J. R. Brodhead or B. P. Poore allude to such a College, or to any one as teacher or pupil there, or any allowance made for its maintenance.

It would seem therefore that English writters after the loss of the territory by the French, originated the story, using the word College, simply as equivalent to Residence.

CONDITION OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH NEW YORK IN 1800.

Jan, 10. 1800. The trustees of St. Peter's. N. Y. write in most respectful terms to Dr. Carroll, and represent that the Rev. Mr. McMahon would no doubt be very useful to the large, (and they wished they could say, flourshing) Congregation; but the great difficulty was to provide for his support. They request Dr. Carroll to suggest by what means he contemplates the revenue of the church to be increased, while they suggest that this result would probably be obtained by having "suitable prayers and sermons in the afternoon on Sundays," two charity sermons in the year," and your admonition to the clergy to interest the numerous offspring of Catholics in this city in the Christian doctrine, which they are totally ignorant of." This the people had been long expecting. The following was the income at that time.

Rent of Pews, - - -	$1120	Expenses.	
Collections about -	360	Rev. O'Brien's salary	$600
	$1480	House rent - -	345
		Interest on Loan -	315
		Contingencies -	125
			$1385

Debt of the Church

Loan from Trustees individually - -	$2000
" " U. S. Bank - - - - -	2000
" " Dom. Lynch, and Thos. Stoughton -	2500
	$6,500

GONZALO DE MENDOZA'S "HISTORIA DE LAS COSAS MAS NOTABLES, RITOS Y COSTUMBRES DEL GRAN REYNO DE LA CHINA," AND ITS PLACE IN AMERICANA AND NEW MEXICANA.

As a matter of Bibliography it may seem strange to some that a work on China can have any place at all in collections of books on American history in general or New Mexico in particular. The work of Mendoza contains, however, as an Appendix, an "Itinerary of the New World" describing the travels of a party of Franciscan Fathers around the world, crossing Mexico from sea to sea. Their description of New Spain gives it a place among Americana. This work ran through more than twenty editions between 1585 and 1655, in Spanish, Italian, French, English and Latin, a fact which proves its great popularity. All these editions come properly under Americana. But there are two types of Mendoza's Historia and some of the editions follow one and some the other. The editions of one type contain very interesting matter relating to New Mexico, while in editions of the other type this part is entirely wanting. Hence some editions are valuable from the fact that they contain early printed accounts of New Mexico, and come into collections of books on that ancient province, while the editions of the other type have no place at all among New-Mexicana. Without some guide it is impossible to tell whether a copy described in a catalogue contains an account of the early missionary visit of the Franciscan Friar Agustin Rodriguez to the Pueblos of New Mexico or not. The following notes are given to prepare the way for a complete bibliography of Mendoza's China.

A. The first edition appeared in Spanish at Rome in 1585, with the title "Historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Ritos y Costvmbres, del gran Reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros delos mesmos Chinas, como por relacion de Religiosos y otras personas que an estado en el dicho Reyno, Hecha y ordenada por el muy R. P. Maestro Fr. Ioan Gonzalez de Mendoça de la Orden de S. Agustin, y penitenciario Appostolico a quien la Magestad Catholica embio con su real carta y otras cosas para el Rey de aquel Reyno el ano. 1580. Al Illustrissimo S. Fernando de Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su Magestad y su presidente en el Real delas Indias. Con vn Itinerario del nuevo Mundo. Con Privilegio y Licencia de su Sanctidad. En Roma, a costa de Bartholome Grassi, 1585, en la Stampa de Vincentio Accolti.

It is a small octavo of 440 pages, with 29 preliminary and three blank pages. On page 341 is

Ytinerario del Padre Cvstodio Fray Martin Ignacio, de la Orden del bienauenturado Sant Francisco, que paso ala China en compañia de otros religiosos de la misma Orden, y de la Provincia de S. Ioseph, por orden del Rey. D. Philippe nestro Señor, y de la bvelta que dio por la India Oriental y otros Reynos, rodeando el Mundo, donde se trataran las cosas mas notables que entendio y vio en la jornada, y los ritos, ceremonias y costumbres, de la gente que toparon, la riqueza, fertilidad, y fortaleza de muchos Reynos por donde paso, con la descripcion que conforme a la noticia que tuuo de ellos pudo hazer."

This Ytinerario extends to page 440 and contains no New Mexico matter.

B. The next year another edition appeared at Madrid, with nearly the same title, adding however after the date 1580, " Y nueuamente añadida por el mesmo Autor"—"And newly added to by the same Author." It was printed at Madrid by Querino Gerardo Flamenco for Blas de Robles.

It is an octavo volume of 368 leaves, 24 preliminary and 16 supplementary pages. On leaf 268 is

Itinerario y Epitome de todas las cosas notables que ay desde España, hasta el Reyno de la China, y de la China

a España, boluiendo por la India Oriental despues de hauer dado buelta a casi todo el mundo. En el qual se trata de los ritos, cerimonias, y costumbres de la gente que en todo el ay, y de la riqueza, fertilidad, y fortaleza de muchos Reynos, y la descripcion de todos ellos. Hecha por el proprio antor deste libro, assi por lo que el ha visto, como por relacio verdaderissima que tuuo de religiosos Descalços de la Orden de Sant Francisco que lo anduuieron todo el ano de 1584.

The Itinerary in this second edition enlarged by the Author is not that of Father Martin Ignacio, but a new one prepared by Fray Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza himself. It begins on leaf 268 and ends on leaf 268 (misprint for 368) Chapter VII, folio 286 is "On New Mexico, and its discovery and what is known there of." Chapter VIII, folio 289 "Continues the Discovery of New Mexico." Chapter IX, folio 294 "Continues about New Mexico and the things seen therein." Chapter X, folio 297 "Continues about New Mexico," thus giving 30 pages to this early account of New Mexico.

The Roman edition A is followed by that of Valencia, 1585; Madrigal, Madrid, 1586; the Italian translations, Rome, 1586; Muschio, Venice, 1586; Venice, 1587–8; the Spanish, Bellero, Antwerp, 1596.

The second edition B with the Itinerary by Mendoza, and including the New Mexico chapters is followed by the Spanish edition of Medina del Campo, 1595; the French translation of Luc de la Porte, Paris, 1588–9; the Latin, Frankfort, 1589; the French by Perier, 1589; the French, Jean Arnaud, 1606; the French, Lyons, 1609; the French, Rouen, 1614.

As to the Italian editions by Avanzo, Venice, 1586–88–90; Genoa, 1586; the German translation, 1589; Bologna, 1589; Paris, 1600; Geneva, 1606; Lyon, 1606; the writer cannot say.

The London Edition 1588 followed A, but introduced the New Mexico part from the French of Luc de la Porte, so that it belongs to both categories. It has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1853–4.

The Latin edition Frankfort (1589) and the Dutch, Ams-

terdam, 1595, give only three books and have no Ytinerario.

After the works of Cabeza de Vaca, 1542 describing Narvaez's expedition and its results, the work of the Gentleman of Elvas, 1557, describing De Soto's, and the accounts of Father Mark of Nice, and Coronado in Ramusio, 1565, this is the next account of explorations within the limits of the United States. Though three centuries have elapsed there are still names and places to trace the course of Espejo's journey to rescue the missionaries. New Mexico, the Rio del Norte and Conchos rivers, Zia, Acoma, Zuñi, the Queres and Taos tribes still remain memorials of the past.

Espejo's narrative was printed at Madrid in Spanish in 1586; and reprinted the same year in Paris by Richard Hakluyt. An edition of 1636 is also referred to.*

The Missionary Journey of Friar Augustine Rodriguez, O. S. F. to New Mexico and the Expedition of Don Antonio Espejo to discover his fate.

From the "Historia de las Cosas mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del gran Reyno de la China," of Father John Gonzalez de Mendoza, of the order of St. Augustine.

I. Of New Mexico, and its Discovery and what is known thereof.

I proceed to treat of New Mexico, which as being so new a thing it will I believe be a matter of much interest.

I have already said in the said (fifth) chapter that in the year 1583, fifteen provinces had been discovered which the explorers called New Mexico in the mainland of New Spain, and I promised to give an account of the discovery, as I shall do with the greatest possible brevity, because if all they saw and knew was to be set forth diffusely, it would be necessary

*I am indebted for much kind assistance in this notice to Wilberforce Eames, Esq., of the Lenox Library.

to make a special history of them. The substance of it is, that in the year 1581, a religious of the order of Saint Francis, named Friar Augustine Ruyz, (1) who resided in the valley of St. Bartholomew, (2) learning by the report of certain Concho Indians, who treated with other Indians known to them, called Passaguates, that to the northward, travelling always by land, there were certain great towns, never known to our Spaniards or discovered, he with the zeal of charity and of the salvation of souls, asked leave of the Count of Coruña, Viceroy of the said New Spain, and his superiors to visit them, to endeavor to learn their language, and that known baptize them and preach the holy gospel to them. Having obtained permission of the aforesaid, taking two other companions of his same order, (3) he set out with eight soldiers, (4) who voluntarily wished to accompany him, to carry out his Christian and zealous intention. After some days march they reached a province called of the Tiguas, distant 250 leagues north of the mines of Santa Barbara, where they began their journey. In this province on a certain occasion the natives killed one of the two companions of the said Father. (5) He and the soldiers who accompanied him, seeing and deploring this event, and fearing that some greater harm might result from this, agreed with common consent to return to the mines from which they had set out, considering that the party with them was very feeble to resist the events which might arise so far from the settlements of

(1) Rodriguez, a native of Niebla near Seville in Spain, and a lay brother. Torquemada, Monarquia Indiana, iii p. 626; Vetancurt, Cronica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio, iii, 298

(2) Now Allende in Chihuahua. The Conchos who occupied the valley which still bears their name, belonged to the Mexican family of languages. Pimentel, Cuadro Descriptivo i p 65; Orosco y Berra, Geografia de las Lenguas, p. 55.

(3) They were priests, Fathers Francis Lopez, and John of St. Mary, a Catalonian.

(4) Commanded by Francis Sanchez Chamuscado. The names of all are given by Villagra in his poem Historia de la Nueva Mexico. See U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag. i p. 172.

(5) Father John of St. Mary set out alone for Mexico to obtain other Fathers and was killed the third day; Torquemada iii, p. 627; Vetancurt, Menologio Franciscano, iv p. 412. The soldiers set out before Father John.

the Spaniards, and so far from necessary aid. The two surviving religious not only did not share this opinion, but rather seeing an opportunity to execute their good desire, and so great a harvest ready for the table of God; seeing that they could not persuade the soldiers to push their discovery further, remained in the said province with three Indian boys and a half-breed whom they had brought with them, it seeming to them that though they remained alone, they were safe there, from the affability and affection with which the natives treated them. When the eight soldiers arrived at their desired point, they at once sent a report of what had happened to the Viceroy, in the City of Mexico, which is 160 leagues distant from the said mines of Santa Barbara. The religious of Saint Francis greatly regretted that their brethren had remained, and fearing that the Indians would kill them when they saw them alone, began to excite the courage of some soldiers to return to the said province with another religious of the same order called Friar Bernardine Beltran, in order to rescue the two said religious from danger, and continue the enterprise undertaken.

At this juncture there was at the mines for some purpose a gentleman from the City of Mexico, named Antonio de Espejo, a native of Cordova, a wealthy man of much courage and skill, zealous for the service of his Royal Majesty, our Lord Philip II. When he heard the desire of the said religious and the importance of the matter, he volunteered to undertake the expedition, spend part of his substance and risk his life in it, if permission could be obtained from some person representing his Majesty. This the said religious obtained, and it was given by Captain John de Ontiveros, Superior Alcalde for his Majesty in the towns called the Four Cienegas, which are in the government of New Biscay, 70 leagues from the said mines of Santa Barbara, not only permitting him to go, but also to raise people and soldiers to accompany him and aid in carrying out his Christian purpose. (1)

The said Anthony de Espejo took up the matter so ear-

(1) Torquemeda, iii p. 359.

nestly that in a few days he gathered the necessary soldiers and supplies for the expedition, expending on it a good part of his estate, and he set out with them all from the valley of Saint Bartholomew on the 10th day of November, 1582, taking for what might occur 115 horses and mules, and a supply of arms, munitions, and provisions and some servitors.

He directed his march northward, and two days after met a number of the Indians called Conchos in rancherias or villages of straw houses, who, as soon as they recognized the Spaniards, having long had intercourse with them, came forth to receive them with signs of joy. The food of these Indians and of the others in this province, which is a large one, live on the flesh of rabbits, hares and deer, which they kill, and of all which there is a very great quantity. They have much maize which is the corn of the Indies, pumpkins and good melons, and plenty of them : and there are many rivers which contain a great quantity of very good fish of various kinds : they almost all go naked, and the arms they use are the bow and arrow ; and they live under the rule and lordship of Caciques like the Mexicans. No idols were found, nor could they learn that they worshipped anybody, so that they readily consented that the Christians should set up crosses, and they seemed well pleased with them, after they had been informed by our people of their meaning which was done through the interpreters they took along ; by their means they learned of other towns to which the said Conchos guided them, escorting them more than twenty-four leagues, which were all settled by people of their nation, who came out peacefully to receive them, in consequence of the notice which the Caciques sent from town to town.

After making these twenty-four leagues they reached another Indian nation called the Passaguates, who lived in the same manner as the said Conchos, their neighbors, and who treated them in the same way, guiding them four days march further, by the action of the Caciques in the manner already explained. On this march our people found many silver mines, of much and very rich ore according to the opinion of those who understood. A day's march from these

they reached another nation called the Tobosos, (1) who on seeing the guise of our people, took to the mountains, leaving their houses and towns deserted. It was afterwards known that some years before some soldiers who were in search of mines passed there, and carried off some of the natives captive. This made the rest of them afraid and suspicious. The Captain ordered them to be called, and assured that no harm should be done them, and he assumed so friendly a manner, that many came to whom he gave food and presents, welcoming them and declaring through the interpreter that they had not come to injure anyone. By this means they were all quieted, and consented to the erection of crosses, and the mystery of them was explained. They showed signs of great satisfaction on receiving them, and in token thereof accompanied the Spaniards as their neighbors had done, till they placed them in a land inhabited by a different nation, distant some twelve leagues from theirs. They use the bow and arrow and go naked.

II. The Discovery of New Mexico Continued.

The nation to which the said Tobosos guided them was called Iumanos, whom the Spaniards also call Patarabueyes (2.) They have a large province with many towns and a large population. The houses are built of mason work, with flat roofs. The towns are laid out with order. All the men and women have their faces, arms and legs striped. They are a corpulent race, and more civilized than those hitherto seen ; and they had abundant provisions, and many game animals and birds, and a great quantity of fish, by reason of having great rivers which come from the north, and one as large as the Guadalquivir, which empties into

(1) The Tobozos were spread over Coahuila, Durango, Nueva Leon and Chihuahua ; but their language is lost. Orozco y Berra, pp. 61, 66. Benavides includes them among the fierce and savage tribes, p. 7.

(2) This tribe was in the valley of the Pecos and in Chihuahua It was to this tribe that V. Mary de Agreda was believed to have appeared and instructed them in Christianity.

the North Sea. (1.) It contains many lakes of salt water, which evaporates at a certain time of the year, and makes very good salt. They are a warlike people and showed it at once, because they attacked us with arrows the first night we encamped and killed five horses, wounding as many more badly, and they would have left none alive had not the sentinels defended them. Having done us this bad turn they deserted the place and ascended a neighboring sierra, to which the Captain proceeded next morning with five well armed soldiers, and an interpreter named Peter, an Indian of this very nation, and by good reasons he calmed and pacified them, making them return to their town and houses, and inducing them to notify their neighbors that they were not men who injured anyone, nor intended to take their property. This he easily effected by his prudence and by giving the caciques some strings of glass beads which he took for the purpose, hats and other trifles: in consequence of this and of the good treatment given them, many of them accompained our people for several days, always marching along the bank of the great river above mentioned. All the way there were many towns of Indians of this nation, which continued for the space of twelve days, during all which, notified by the caciques from town to town, they came out to receive our people without bows or arrows, and brought them abundant provisions, and other presents and gifts, especially hides and chamois-skins very well dressed and not exceeded by those of Flanders. This people were all dressed, and it was found that they had some light of our holy faith, because they made signs of God, looking up to heaven, and they called him in their language Apalito, and they recognized him as Lord from whose bounty and mercy they confessed that they had received life and natural existence, and temporal good. Many of them with their wives and children came to the religious, who, as we have said, accompained the said Captain and Soldiers, to be blessed by him and have the sign of the cross made on them. When he asked them from whom they had

(1) Here they evidently reached the Rio Grande. In old times the Pacific was the South Sea, and the Atlantic the North Sea.

acquired this knowledge which they possessed of God, they replied, from three Christians and a negro who had passed there and remained some days in their land. According to the signs which they gave, it was Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantes and Castillo Maldonado, and a negro, who had all escaped from the expedition with which Páfilo de Narbaez entered Florida, and after being a long time in slavery, they came upon these towns, God-working by their means many miracles, and healing with the mere touch of their hands many sick persons, in consequence of which they left a great name in all that land. All this province remained peaceful and very quiet, in token whereof they accompained and served our people several days along the banks of the river mentioned above.

In a few days they reached a great town of Indians, who sallied out to receive them in consequence of the report which they received from their neighbors, and brought them many very curious things of different colored feathers, and many cotton blankets with blue and white stripes, like those brought from China, to sell and exchange them for other things. They all, men, women and children were dressed in very good and well dressed chamois skins, and our people never could learn what nation they were, for want of an interpreter who understood their language, although they conversed with them by signs. When some stones with rich metal were shown them, and they were asked whether there were any such in their land, they replied also by signs that five days march thence westward, there was a great quantity of it, and that they would guide us there and show it to our people, as they subsequently did, accompanying them for the space of twenty-two leagues all inhabited by people of that same nation, who were immediately followed up the same river by another nation much more populous than the last, by whom they were well received and entertained with many presents, especially with fish, which was infinite, by reason of some great lakes existing near there, which produce them in said abundance. They remained among them three days, during which they performed for them by day and night

many dances in their fashion with pecular expression of joy. How this nation was called could not be ascertained for want of interpreters, although it was understood that it was great and wide spread. Among them they found an Indian of the Concho nation who told them and indicated that fifteen days hence westward there was a very wide lake, and near it very great towns, and houses of three and four stories, and well dressed people, and the land of much provisions. He offered to conduct them there. Our people rejoiced at this, and omitted to carry it in to effect only to execute the project with which they began the journey, which was to go northward to relieve the religious mentioned above.

What they particularly noted in this province was that the climate was very good, the lands very fertile, and game, both beast and bird, abundant, and much rich ore, and other other especial and profitable things.

From this province they followed their route for the space of fifteen days without encountering during that time any people amid the great forests of pine trees like those of Castile; at the end of this time, having marched in their opinion eighty leagues they came to a small rancheria or town of a few people, and in their poor straw houses they found a great quantity of deerskins, as well dressed as those of Flanders, and much very good white salt. They were very hospitably entertained during the two days they remained, after which they were accompained by them some twelve leagues to some large towns, always marching along the Rio del Norte already mentioned, till they reached the land which they call New Mexico. The whole bank of the said river was lined with immense forests of white poplars, and in some parts they were four leagues wide, and also with many walnut trees and wild vines like those of Castile. Having marched two days through these poplar and walnut forests, they came to ten towns, situated on both banks of the said river, without counting others which were seen further inland. In these there seemed to be a large populotion, what they saw exceeding ten thousand souls. In this province they were treated with many entertainment, and they were con-

conducted to their towns where they gave them much food and poultry of the country, and other things and all with great good will. Here they found well built four-story houses with fine rooms, and in most of them there were estufas for the winter time. They were dressed in cotton and deerskin, and the dress both of men and women, is like that of the Indians of the Kingdom of Mexico, and what caused most surprise was to see that all of both sexes, went shod with shoes and boots of good leather with soles of cow-hide, a thing which up to this time they had never seen. The women have their hair well combed and arranged, and wear nothing on the head. In all these towns there were caciques who governed them as among the Mexican Indians, with officers, to execute their commands, who go through the town, crying aloud the will of the caciques, and execute it. In this province our people found many Idols which were adored and especially that they had in every house a shrine for the devil, to which they were accustomed to carry food and other things. In the way that among Christians we have crosses by the wayside, so they have a kind of high chapels where they say the devil rests and recruits when he goes from town to town: these are highly adorned and painted. In all their cultivated and planted fields which are very extensive, they have at one side of them a portal with four columns, where the laborers eat and take their noon-rest, because they are a very industrious race, and are ordinarily at work. It is a land of many mountains and pine-woods. The arms which they use are very strong bows and arrows tipped with flint, with which they can pierce a coat of mail, and macanas, which are clubs half a yard long, and set full of sharp flints, which can cut a man in two, and also bucklers of raw cow-hide.

III. Continuation in regard to New Mexico, and the things seen there.

After being in this province four days, and at a short distance from it they came to another called the Province

of the Tiguas, which contained sixteen towns, in one of which called by name Poala (1) they found that the Indians had put to death the said two Fathers, Friar Francis Lopez and Friar Augustine, whom they had set out to seek, and also three boys and a half-breed. When the town folk and their near neighbors saw our people, touched by the remorse of their own conscience and dreading lest they should be punished, and vengeance taken for the death of the said Fathers, they durst not stay; but leaving their houses deserted, they fled to the neighboring mountains, from which they could not be induced to come down, although efforts were made to allure them by all devices. They found in the towns and houses much provisions, and an infinite quantity of native poultry, and many kinds of ore, some of which seemed very good; it could not be ascertained clearly how great the population of this province was, as the people had fled to the mountains as already stated.

Having found that those they sought were dead, a council was held to decide whether they should return to New Biscay, from which they had set out, or proceed further. In this opinions differed. But as they heard there that east of that province and far from it, there were great rich towns, finding himself so near, the said Captain Anthony de Espejo agreed with the opinion of the religious already named, Father Bernardine Beltran, and the majority of his soldiers and companions, to continue the discovery till they saw where it ended, so as to be able to make a clear and certain report to his Majesty as eye witnesses, and so conforming to this they determined that leaving the camp there, the Captain with two companions should carry out his desire, as they did in fact. After two days march they reached a province in which they saw eleven towns, and in them many people, exceeding in their judgment 40,000 souls (2). It was a very fer-

(1) Called also subsequently Puaray. It was near Sandia and Isleta. It was apparently like them a town of Tioas Indians. Benavides, 21, and thus allied to the Taos and Picuries. Oñate found on the wall of a house the death of the missionaries painted by the Indians.

(2) Apparently the Queres. Benavides, p. 22.

tile and productive land, the boundaries of which touched directly those of Cibola, where there are many cattle, in the skins of which they are clothed, and in cotton. They follow in matter of government the system held by their neighbors. There are indications of many rich mines, and accordingly they found ores of them in the houses of the Indians, who have and worship idols. They received them in peace and gave them food. Seeing this and the nature of the land they returned to the camp from which they had set out, to inform their comrades of all the above.

On reaching the camp, as just stated, they heard of another province called that of the Quires, which was six leagues off up the Rio del Norte, and when they set out for it and came within a league of it, a great number of Indians came out to receive them in peace, and ask them to visit their towns, and when they did so they were well received and entertained. They saw only five towns in this province, in which there was a very great number of people. What they saw exceeded 15,000 souls, and they adore idols like their neighbors. They found in one of these towns a magpie in a cage, such as used in Castile, and umbrellas like those brought from China with the sun and moon and many stars painted on them. On taking the altitude here, they found that they were at $37\frac{1}{2}^{0}$ N.

They left this province and marched in the same direction and fourteen leagues thence they found another province called the Cunames, where they saw five other towns, the chief and largest of them being called Cia, (1) which was so great that it contained eight plazas; the houses were plastered and painted with colors, and better than those that had been seen in the other provinces. The population which they saw seemed to exceed 20,000 souls. They presented to our people many curious blankets and eatables very well prepared, and they regarded these people as more curious, and more civilized than any that they had yet seen: they showed them rich ores and some ranges near by whence they

(1) Now Zia or Jemes River. The Amejes may be the Jemes.

obtained them. Here they learned of another province, which was to the northwest and they resolved to visit it.

When they had marched about six leagues they reached the said province, which is called that of the Améjes, which contained seven great towns, and in them by their estimate 30,000 souls. One of these seven towns they said was very great and beautiful, but they omitted to visit it, both because it was beyond a mountain range, and for fear of some disastrous result, if they divided their force. The people resemble those of the neighboring province, as well provisioned and governed.

Fifteen leagues from this province, always marching westward, they found a large town called Acoma; (1) it contained 6,000 souls and is situated on a high rock, fifty men's stature high, inaccessible except by a stairway made in the very rock, at which our people were greatly astonished; all the water there was in the town was cistern water.

The leading men came peaceably to see the Spaniards and brought many blankets, and well dressed chamois-skins, and a great quantity of provisions. They have their cultivated fields two leagues off, and draw the water to irrigate them from a small river which is near, on the bank of which they saw very large rose bushes like those of Castile. There are many ranges of mountains with signs of mines, although they did not visit them, the Indians being numerous and very warlike. Our people remained three days in this place, on one of which the natives made them a very solemn dance, repairing to it in very fine dresses, and with very ingenious games in which they take extreme pleasure.

Twenty-four leagues thence westward, they came to a province called in the language of the natives Zuny, (2) and the Spaniards call it Cibola; it contains a great number of Indians. Francis Vazquez Coronado was in it and left many crosses set up and other marks of Christianity, which have always remained standing. They found also three Christian Indians who had remained of that expedition, whose names

(1) See Benavides, p. 33.

(2) Benavides, p. 35.

were Andrew of Cuyoacan, (1) Gaspar of Mexico, and Anthony of Guadalajara, who had almost forgotten their own language and knew that of the natives very well, although after conversing with them for a time they understood easily. From them they ascertained that sixty days march thence there was a very great lagoon or lake, on the shores of which there were many great and goodly towns, and that the natives had much gold, as an indication of which they wore gold bracelets and earrings: and that as the aforesaid Francis Vazquez Coronado had very positive information thereof, he had departed from this province of Cibola to go there, but after marching twelve days he could find no water, and resolved to return, as he did, with the resolution to come again expressly but afterwards he could not carry out his plan, because death arrested his steps and thoughts.

IV. New Mexico Continued.

At the report of said wealth, the said Captain Anthony de Espejo wished to hasten there, and although some of his companions shared his counsel, the majority and the religious were of a contrary opinion, saying that it was time to return to New Biscay from which they had started in order to make a report of what they had seen. This the greater part put in execution after a few days, leaving the Captain with nine companions, who agreed to follow him. After having assured himself very thoroughly of the aforesaid riches, and of the abundance of very rich ore there, he departed with his said companions from this province, and marching due West, after having made twenty-eight leagues they came to another very large province, (2) in which there seemed to them to be more than 50,000 souls, whose inhabitants when they knew their coming sent them a message, saying that if they did not wish to be killed, they must come no nearer their towns. To which the said Captain answered that they did not come

(1) Culiacan.
(2) Apparently the Moquis.

to harm them, as they would see, and that therefore he asked them not to carry out their hostile designs, and he gave the messenger some of the things he had: he succeeded so well in calming our people and appeasing the excited minds of the Indians, that they freely allowed them to enter, as they did with one hundred and fifty friendly Indians from the province of Cibola already noted, and the three Mexican Indians of whom mention has been made.

A league before they reached the first town, more than two thousand Indians came out to receive them loaded with provisions, to whom the Captain gave some things of little value which seemed to them of great, and they esteemed them more than if they had been gold. Coming nearer the town which is called Zaguato, a great multitude of Indians came out to welcome them, and among them the caciques, making such demonstrations of pleasure and joy, that they scattered quantities of Indian meal on the ground for the horses to tread on. With this pomp they entered the town and were very well lodged and feasted, which the Captain paid in part by giving all the leading men hats, glass beads, and many other things which he had for such presents.

The said Caciques then sent messengers to all in that province notifying them of the coming of their guests, that they were very courteous men and did not injure them: this was enough to make them all come loaded with presents for our people, and to importune them to go and enjoy themselves in their towns, which they did, although always with watchfulness as to what might happen. The said Captain accordingly used caution, and told the caciques, that as the horses were very fierce and had been told that they wished to kill them, it would be necessary to make a fort of masonry to keep them and prevent the injury they wished to do the Indians. The caciques believed it so completely, that in a few hours they collected so many people that they built the said fort desired by our people with incredible speed. Moreover when the Captain announced that he wished to depart they brought him a present of 40,000 cotton blankets, painted and white, and a great quantity of handkerchiefs

with tassels at the corners and many other things and among others rich specimens of ore which indicated much silver. They found among these Indians a very clear knowledge of the great lagoon above mentioned, and they corroborated what the others had told of the wealth and of the great abundance of gold.

The Captain relying on this people and their good disposition, after some days agreed to leave there five of his men with the other friendly Indians, that they might return to the province of Zuny with the baggage, and to go with the four who remained, lightly equipped to follow up certain indications he had of some very rich mines; carrying this out he departed with the guides he had and when he had marched due west forty-five leagues he reached the said mines, and obtained with his own hands very rich specimens containing much silver, and the mines which consisted of a very wide vein were in a range easily ascended, as there was a road open to it. Near them were some towns of mountain Indians, who showed friendship, and came to receive them with crosses on their heads and other signs of peace. Near this place they found two considerable rivers, on whose banks there were many vines bearing very good grapes, and great walnut trees and much flax like that of Castile, and they told by signs that beyond those mountains there was one more than eight leagues broad, but they could not understand how it could be so near, although they made signs that it ran towards the North Sea, and that on either bank there were many towns so large, that compared to them, those in which they were, were but suburbs.

After having obtained all this relation, the said Captain departed for the province of Zuny, where he had ordered his said companions to go: and when he arrived there in health, having followed a very good road, he found his five companions in it and the said Father Bernardine with the soldiers who had resolved to return as we have already said, but who had not yet set out for certain reasons. The Indians had given these very good treatment, and everything necessary in great plenty, doing the same afterwards with the Captain

and those who came with him, whom they came out to welcome with marks of joy ; they gave them abundant provisions for the march which they were to make, asking them to return soon, and bring many Castillas (so they call Spaniards) that they would give all food, and that to do so more easily they had sowed that year more grain and seeds than in all past years.

At this time the said religious and the above mentioned soldiers adhered to their first determination, and agreed to return to the province from which they had started, with the design already expressed; this was upheld by Gregory Hernandez, who had been ensign on the expedition. When they had departed, the said Captain remaining with only eight soldiers resolved to proceed as he had begun, and ascend the Rio del Norte, as he did. And having marched about sixty leagues towards the province of the Quires already mentioned, twelve leagues thence to the eastward, they found a province which is called the Hubates, where the Indians received them in peace, and gave them much provisions and information that near there there were very rich mines which they found and took from them good bright ore, with which they returned to the town from which they had set out. They estimated the population of this province as high as 25,000 souls, all well clothed in painted cotton blankets and chamois-skins well prepared. They have many pine and cedar forests, and the houses in the towns are of four and five stories. They here obtained information of another province, one day's journey distant, called that of the Tamos, (1) in which there were more than 40,000 souls. When they reached there, the inhabitants would not give them food or admit them into their towns; on account of this and the danger in which they were, and some of the soldiers being sick, and being so few as we have said, they determined to march for the land of the Christians, and they did so in the beginning of July in the year 83, being guided by an Indian

(1) This seems to be the Taos, rather than the Tanos tribe. From this point Espejo apparently marched down the valley of the Pecos.

who went with them and took them by a route different from they followed in coming, down a river which they called de Las Vacas(1)by reason of the great multitude of them along its banks, down which they marched 120 leagues, meeting herds constantly. From this they passed to the Rio de los Conchas by which they had entered and the valley of Saint Bartholomew from which they set out at the beginning of the exploration. When they arrived they found that the said Friar Bernardine Beltran and his companions had arrived safely at the said town many days before, and had proceeded thence to the city of Guadiana. In this town the said Captain Anthony Espejo made a very accurate report of all the aforesaid, which he forwarded at once to the Count of Coruña, Viceroy of that kingdom, and he to his Majesty and the Lords of the Royal Council of the Indies,that they might make such orders as seemed well, which has already been done with great care. May our Lord aid this affair in a manner that so many souls redeemed with his blood may not be condemned, from whose good understanding (in which they surpass those of Mexico and Peru, as we understand from those who have treated with them) it may be presumed that they will easily embrace the Gospel law, abandoning the idolatry, which now holds most of them. May God do this as he can, for His honor and glory, and the increase of the holy Roman Catholic faith.

I have dwelt on this Relation more than was required for the Itinerary, and I have done so intentionally. as it was something new and little known, and it appeared to me would not displease the reader.

(1) Bison River.

POINTS FROM THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF CATTARAUGUS COUNTY, N. Y.

It may be pleasing to the members of the Society to receive a detailed, yet concise historical account of Catholic Church matters from this County.

The first successful attempt at an embodiment of Catholicity in Cattaraugus County, N. Y. may be dated back to the year 1847, when the late amiable and saintly bishop, Rt. Rev. John Timon, C. M., ascended the episcopal throne of the diocese of Buffalo. On taking possession of his see, he found but very few Catholics, and only a few scattered missions. Owing to his apostolic zeal and the aid of Divine Providence he soon had the happiness to witness a rapid, almost instantaneous, increase of Catholic life and piety in this once barren soil.

The first missionary stations opened were Ellicottville and Cuba; and later on, Allegany and Olean. The last two, in particular, owe their present flourishing condition to the pioneering of the Franciscan Fathers of whom we shall presently speak.

There was an influx of Catholics into this locality in 1851, when work was commenced on the Erie Railroad; and Bishop Timon knew it would be impossible for the two priests, Fathers McKenna and Walsh stationed respectively at Ellicottville and Cuba, to attend their spiritual wants. There was a scarcity of priests in this quarter of the diocese; the only others who visited it were Rev. T. McEvoy, who was afterwards stationed at Rochester, and was buried at Allegany; Father Doran, who endeavored to establish a mission at Chipmunk; and Rev. John Loughlin, the present Bishop of Brooklyn, who celebrated Mass at Allegany, in the house of

Mr John Shaw. The bishop realized the necessity of establishing missions for the new arrivals but had no priests to spare. He was relieved from the difficulty in the following manner, which resulted so happily to the interests of Catholicity in this section of the country.

Mr. Nicholas Devereux, a noble-hearted Catholic gentleman, had settled some time previously in Western New York. Owing to favorable circumstances, he very soon acquired vasts tracts of land in Cattaraugus Conuty. This he parcelled out, at moderate prices, to the new settlers; and as he was always actuated by the principles of Charity, he permitted them to pay for their portions by installments, according to their abilities. He even gave some lands away gratuitusly. A true son of Holy Mother Church, he not only provided for the temporal interests of his fellow-men, but he also had an ardent desire to promote their spiritual welfare. Having received his early education and true Christian training under the Franciscan Fathers in Ireland, his native country, he always pseserved a special love for that order, and cherished the hope of seeing them one day establish a House in this vicinity. In order to have this ardent desire realized, he made it known to Rt. Rev. John Timon, with whom he stood on terms of intimate friendship. This design corresponded exactly with the bishop's wishes in the matter, and steps were immediately taken to put it into execution. This was in the year 1854, a year of absorbing interest to the universal Church of Christ, when the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the constant and universal belief of the faithful from the time of the Apostles, was about to be defined. The glorious Pontiff, Pius IX., desired the presence of the Prelates of the Catholic world, in order to give all possible lustre and solemnity to the Definition. Bishop Timon was among the number called to the shrine of the Apostles, the once superb city of the Caesars, the new brilliant focus of Catholic doctrine, the seat of the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth. He told Mr. Devereux the news of the invitation to Rome. The latter rejoiced exceedingly on

receving this intelligence. Now the happy moment was approaching to open negotiations with the proper authorities, about obtaining Missionary Fathers for the new settlement! He promised to do all in his power to further the project, and even offered himself as travelling companion to the Bishop, as he was himself anxious to see Rome and its illustrious Pontiff, Pius IX.

Passing over the usual incidents and inconveniences of a journey by land and sea in those days, we find them in Rome, the same year, 1854. Their first thought was to thank God for their safe arrival; then they hastened to tender their respects to the Holy Father. They unfolded their plans to His Holiness who, after listening attentively, imparted the Papal Benediction, and spoke encourging words, for their success. In the next place they repaired to the then Head-Superior of the Franciscan Order, Most Rev. Father Venantius. The reasonableness of their petition commanded itself to him, and they received his consent and approbation.

Four members of the great Order of St. Francis of Assisi, three priests and one lay brother, voluuteered and exchanged a life of contemplation and activity under the azure sky of Lavinium for the inclement climate and woodlands of Western New York. These pioneers, whose names deserve to be handed down to posterity, were: Very Rev. Father Pamphilo, O. S. F., Very Rev. Father Samuel, O. S. F., Rev. Father Sixtus, O. S. F., and the Venerable Brother Salvador, O. S. F. The first of these, Very Rev. Father Pamphilo, was appointed Warden, or Superior, of this brave little band of Franciscans.

Full of zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, the missionaries set out from Rome on the 9th day of May, 1855, and after an unusually short voyage, reached the American shores on the 19th of June, the same year. The first mission assigned them was Ellicottville, New York, from which was attended Allegany, and, later on, other adjacent stations. Soon after, Mr Devereux gave them a suitable tract of land in the township of Allegany, Cattaraugus County, and it was determined that some of the Fathers

should here form a second abode. On their arrival, they resided for a time in the private dwelling of Mr. John McMahon. Not long after, however, with the assistance of their liberal patron and the generosity of good neighbors, they were enabled to erect their first building which then formed St. Bonaventure's College and Seminary. The Church of St. Nicholas, called after the patron Saint of Mr. Nicholas Devereux, was also erected about this time. The Fathers took up their abode in their new home on the eve of the Feast of their glorious Founder, St. Francis of Assissi, October, 3rd 1858. God blessed their undertaking. The mission increased rapidly : shortly afterwards other members of the Order arrived from Europe, and postulants from the surrounding towns who desired to become children of St. Francis were added to this number. In the following year, 1859, they opened their public Institution, with chairs of the various departments of science. Very soon they were enabled to meet the Rt. Rev Bishop's desire of attending, from Allegany, the adjacent Catholics of Olean, Cuba, Belmont, Humphrey, Little Valley, Great Valley, Cattaraugus, Franklinville, and other places, where they either erected churches or enlarged such as they already found. The bishop at that time needed his small number of secular priests in other localities of his vast diocese.

Thus began the Mother House of the Franciscans of the Eastern Province. Notwithstanding the many difficulties placed in their way, they always succeeded ; nothing could cool the burning zeal of the devoted sons of St. Francis.

In the course of time, the monastery and spacious church were erected. The Institution increased in the number of professors and students. In 1888 a large Alumni-Hall was built, to which was added a fine library containing over 6,000 vols. on all branches of Literature and Science. A novitiate has also been established from which a goodly number of young men are regularly received into the First Order of Friars Minor. A vast number of priests who daily ascend the altar of God in almost every diocese throughout the the country, were trained under the Coat of Arms of the

humble Seraph of Assisi and still hold the Franciscans and St. Bonaventure's College and Seminary in grateful remembrance. This is well attested by the large number of clergy and laity who come from great distances to attend the Annual Commencements, of which the thirteth anniversary has already been celebrated.

Another institution, coeval with the College and Seminary, that has done a great deal of good for Catholicity is St. Elizabeth's Convent–Academy, conducted by the daughters of the Third Order of St. Francis. Uniting a contemplative life to the Christian training of young ladies, they have endeavored for many years to guide their pupils in the path of rectitude; to give them a solid education, ornamented with all the modern accomplishments, and to fit them to preside as true Christian mothers in their future homes.

This is not the only Franciscan Mission to which the American Catholics are indebted. We find it recorded, that there was one to the Canadian Territories over two centuries and a half ago. Also, it is an historical fact that it was a Franciscan Friar who first offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in the city of Monterey, California; and Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of America, was a Franciscan of the Third Order. In the South-east and South-west of the United States, we also find the Order laboring for God's Holy Church.

It will be gratifying to the friends of piety to know that the Third Order, founded by St. Francis in A. D. 1221, is in a most flourishing condition, under the vigilant care of the Fathers. Branches have been established in various parishes conducted by the secular clergy, who have had ample opportunity to witness the beneficial influence among their flocks. Their testimony has been so unmistakable that constant requests are received to organize new congregations of Secular Tertiaries. We should not omit mentioning, in connection with the Order, the Arch-Confraternity of the Cord, which renders its wearers participants of innumerable spiritual favors.

NOTES.

EARLY CATHOLIC AFFAIRS IN NEW YORK.

From the reminiscences of the late Mrs. Eliza Quinn Howard we extract the following: "The first remarkable incident that produced a lasting impression upon the mind of the writer, was being led by the hand to view the remains laid out in state, of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Connolly, in old St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street. It is said they were viewed by over three thousand people, and were a novel sight to both Catholics and Protestants. The history of our two first Churches, and the experiences of the Catholics of that time, were conspicuous for incidents, that will never be recorded in history; yet were filled with acts of self-sacrifice, poetry and even romance, that would far exceed in interest the pages of the modern novel, but are only registered in the books of the Recording Angel.

It is with a mixture of exultation and sadness that the writer remembers the Christmas mornings of her early days, when she plodded through the untrodden snow, a walk of two miles, to be present at the five o'clock mass at St. Peter's Church, in Barclay Street, no sound disturbing the harmony of both Earth and Sky, save the salutation of "Merry Christmas" from all passing wayfarers.

In those days Goodyear and galoshes were unknown and as for surface cars and elevated roads, they did not exist in the wildest dreams of the imagination, though now they hasten many on their path to Paradise.

Thus did catholic parents foster the faith of children, who have subsequently filled our pulpits, one of whom has worn as "Newman" says, "the royal robe both of empire and of martyrdom," men who have administered the laws of justice, and women who in the sacred garb of charity have devoted their lives to the relief of the helpless and the aged.

Before the introduction of the Sisters of Charity at St. Peter's—the ladies of the congregation taught the Sunday School classes, among whom the families of Binsse, Burtsell, Manahan and Glover were conspicuous.

The missionary spirit still exists among their descendants. From a Burtsell the writer learned the definition of "Trinity." It may not be irrelevant here to relate an incident connected with St. Peter's Church. The sexton, Sheils by name, was a distinguished feature of a class that is now obsolete, the English Beadle. One of the pictures of the past was seeing him in peruke, and short clothes, mount the pulpit stairs to place the Gospels upon the velvet cushion. He would take a survey of the

assembled congregation through his spectacles; puffing out his cheeks and giving a dissatisfied shake of his head, at the tardy occupants filling the pews. His frown was fearful. Among the children in the catechism class with the writer, was a little girl of perhaps six or seven years. The question came to her, "Who is the visible head of the Church on earth?" She replied "Grandfather Sheils."

In 1830 the Sisters of Charity opened a day school at St. Peter's; Sister Jerome, lately deceased, was placed in charge of it and upon her arrival, it fell upon the writer's lot to carry her her first meal. Always upon meeting the good Sister, in after years, she would refer to this incident, as the first hospitality extended to her in this city. The school was opened in an old wooden building forming the eastern boundary of the yard adjoining the church. The present School and Sister's house were built years after under the direction of Rev. John Power. His portrait, which adorned the mantel of the Sister's parlor, has been presented to the Historical Society by Sister Mary Francis."

Correspondnce of Archbishop Carroll and Bishop Cheverus.

Bishop Cheverus to Archbishop Carroll.

Boston, October 10th, 1811.

Most Rev. Father.

We have still here the two monks of La Trappe, and the sister of the *tiers-ordre*. They are in the greatest anxiety concerning Father Vincent. Not a word from him have they received these six weeks. Nothing can be more edifying and pleasing than their conduct. The Sister is a very sensible woman and would, I think, make an excellent instructress of youth. Should her expected companions not arrive, I think she would be a valuable acquisition to the Sisterhood at Emmitsburg. . . . All those who have had the happiness to know you, here and in Damariscotta, never fail to enquire about you with tender anxiety. All unite in the wish that you may long be preserved, to edify and preside over the Church of J. C. in the United States. Permit me to subscribe myself, with filial respect and affection.

Most Reverend Father,
Your obedient, humble servant and son in J. C.,
✠ John Bishop of Boston.

Boston, December 31st, 1811.

Most Rev. Father.

I am happy to have an opportunity to renew to you at this season the assurance of my heartfelt respect, gratitude and filial love. Most be-

loved and venerable Father, may God in mercy to his Church preserve your inappreciable life *ad multos annos!* It is the prayer of every Catholic throughout the United States; I indulge the fond hope that it will be heard. I understand that you enjoy a good state of health, and no intelligence can be more pleasing to me.

Most Reverend Father,

Your obedient, humble servant and son in J. C.,

✠ John Bishop of Boston.

Boston, August 31st, 1812.

Most Rev. Father.

I was favored the day before yesterday with your esteemed letter of the 25th. I thought the idea of our assembling next November was given up. The Right Rev. Bishop Egan wrote to me last June, that the Right Rev. Bishop Flaget could not come.

When two years ago we fixed the time of our next meeting, I supposed, I understood, it was in the hope, that we should be able to hear from the Holy Father, that the vacant sees of New York and New Orleans would be occupied, etc. But as unhappily everything remains in the same situation, where we left it two years ago, you must excuse me when I say, that I do not see either the necessity, or even the great utility, of a Provincial Council being held at the present moment. In this opinion my venerable and most dear friend Dr. Matignon fully concurs.

I will say nothing of my being obliged to come back here at the most severe season, and the most unfit for travelling.

I am just returned from an excursion of two months and a half in the District of Maine. Had I thought I must go to Baltimore I would not have remained so long. I am more of a Parish Priest than of a Bishop, and it is believed that a new absence will be hurtful to the congregation here, besides burdening Dr. Matignon with duties, too heavy for his weak state of health, although his zeal seems never to think them too painful. Our good and amiable Dr. O'Brien is indeed willing to lend a helping hand, particularly as to the pulpit; but yet the above remark stands good.

Besides the above, an objection almost insuperable, is the expense. Were I to complain of my poverty I would be wrong and ungrateful; but many of our poor people have no employment, and all feel the distress of the times, without excepting my good friends, Messrs. Kavanagh and Cottrill, who have met with heavy and repeated losses. I really do not know at present one of my Diocesans to whom I could apply with a good grace, even for $10.00 The dear Dr. Matignon and myself have but one purse, but it is now an empty one. However we live from day to day, and a kind Providence supplies our daily wants.

If you think the Council must be held, could not a vicar general

elected *ad hoc* be my attorney and answer every purpose? In this case, I would propose my learned, pious and venerable friend Dr. Dubourg. If however, Most Reverend Father, you point out any one you would prefer, I would immediately write to him or to Dr. Dubourg, if it meets your approbation. Permit me also to add that the present distracted state of this country, the shocking scenes which . . . induced Dr. Matignon and myself to doubt of the propriety of holding our assembly just at this time, and particularly of holding it in your city. I need not add, I hope, that I do not even dream of any personal danger. To conclude: I have not forgotten this part of my consecration oath, *Vocatus ad Synodum ibo.* If therefore, Most Reverend Father, you order me to come, I must and will obey, but if the above reasons appear to you sufficient to justify you in dispensing with my attendance, I most humbly and earnestly beg that you will grant me such dispensation. I have the honor to be with the most profound veneration,

Most Reverend Father,

Your obedient, humble servant and son in J. C.,

✠ John Bishop of Boston.

Dr. Matignon and Dr. O'Brien* Mr. and Mrs. Stoughton, your little god-daughter, etc., etc., present their best respects. My respectful compliments to Rev. Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Mertz, Mr. Moranvilliers, and all the Reverend gentlemen at the Seminary.

Boston, December 30th, 1812.

Most Rev. Father

All your children in J. C. unite in fervent prayers for the preservation of your invaluable life. God in mercy to his Church will hear us, and grant health and strength to our guide and pattern, dear and venerable Father, *ad multos annos.* My respectable and dear friend Dr. Matignon, and also Dr. O'Brien and Mr. Brosins, cordially unite with me in this wish, and in assuring you of their profound respect. Since I was honored with your esteemed favor, in answer to my letter concerning the intended Council, I have heard that our dear and R R. brother of Bardstown, has come to Baltimore. I regret his disappointment, (though I think that at all events, his visit to his holy brethren is not an unpleasant one;) but he and they are wrong, in attributing to me the postponement of the Council. I merely expressed to you my reasons for not holding it at present, and you were pleased to write to me that they appeared *decisive.* Had you judged them of no weight I was ready to go, without calculating any personal inconvenience. But I must say that I am still of opinion that the

*Rev. Dr. O'Brien had gone to Boston in May.

Council may be postponed, and I know of nothing that makes the holding of it in the present circumstances, either necessary or even particularly useful. Rev. Mr. Badin writes to Dr. Matignon, that there are some intricate questions concerning marriage which are to be examined, but it appears to me that the gentlemen of the Seminary may examine these questions and then submit them to you. Your decision would become our rule in our respective Dioceses. The R. R. Bishop of Philadelphia has written to me; he wishes we would meet, but says only that some important matters might be settled. What these matters are he does not even intimate. It is certainly extremely inconvenient for me to go, but yet any order from you, my venerable Father, will be obeyed wihout delay or reluctance. The Consul has been unwell and also your little god-daughter; they are getting well and unite with Mrs. Stoughton in respects and the wishes of the season.

I beg my affectionate and respectful compliments to our R. R. Brother of Bordstown, Rev. Mr. Fenwick, and all the Reverend gentlemen in Baltimore. With sentiments of the highest veneration, I have the honor to be,

Most Reverend Father,

Your most obedient, humble servant and son in J. C.,

✠ John Bishop of Boston.

The good and amiable Mr. Brosins has got a few young men to whom he gives lessons in Mathematics. I begin to hope he may be enabled to remain with us. What a pity that his health is so precarious? The dear Dr. O'Brien is in good health.

QUERIES.

Ganilh's Poems.—Rev. A. Ganilh, a priest who was on the mission in the West and Southwest, published a volume of English poems Can any reader give us the title?

V.

Sicut lilium inter spinas. There is preserved in the Cathedral of New Orleans, a large silver gilt plate with a coat of arms on it. These arms are a lily on the centre of the shield. Above it on either side and below it, a branch with thorns. The motto is: "Sicut lilium inter spinas." Can any of our readers inform us whose bearings these are?

F. J.

Councils and Synods.—The editors will be glad to learn of any printed acts of Provincial Councils and Diocesan Synods on Statutes not included in the list given in this Magazine.

BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DURING THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Henry Adams, 2 volumes, 12mo, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889.

The history of the United States, from the close of the Revolutionary war to the second war with Great Britain, is practically unknown to the generality of American readers. No classic work covered the period, and few but students would delve through a series of works to gather facts and form a judgment for themselves. Mr. Adams in this work, which gives him a high rank as a careful and judicious historian, does much to bring the period in part at least before the ordinary readers. The key to our whole political history lies in the study of the events and opinions which led up to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, in the adoption of the Constitution, in Washington's work in putting it into operation, in the rise of two antagonistic policies, the Federalist and the Republican, in the defeat of the Federalists and the accession of Jefferson to the control of the destinies of the nation. To present well the eight years administration which has left so deep an impress on American politics, which began so hopefully, and ended in such bitter disappointment alike to the President, his party and the country was a task worthy of a historian, and certainly Mr. Adams gives a work that will long retain its place as a book of value, and one to attract readers usefully. Jefferson was a theorist, compelled to assume the active work of administration, and his whole administration was an effort to cling to theories which events rendered impracticable, and in yielding he sacrificed the fundamental principles of his policy. The great event of his first administration was the purchase of Louisiana from France. Theoretically opposed to the acquisition of new territory, holding it to be contrary to the Constitution of the United States, Jefferson was driven to the point where he must either sacrifice what he constitutionally sought, or secure still greater advantages by straining unduly the powers conferred by the Constitution of 1787. Economy and reduced taxation had been the cry of his party, yet the first step of his administration plunged it into difficulties which forced Congress to reimpose taxes. Jefferson had opposed the Navy, but in three months found it necessary to employ frigates to defend the national honor. Leaning towards France, events forced him to conciliate England and to seek to stand well with her, only to receive the unkindest treatment in return. The result of his first administration, while it disappointed his party and the people, did not prevent his re-election by 162 votes against 14.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA DURING THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Henry Adams. 2 volumes, 12mo, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890.

In the second administration of Jefferson the salient points are the Florida negotiations, Monroe's treaty, Burr's Conspiracy, England's contemptuous treatment of America evinced in the attack by the Leopard on the Chesapeake and the great mistake in policy of laying an Embargo, the resultant schism in the ranks of the Jeffersonian Republicans, the rise of a disloyal British party among the New England Federalists, the humiliation of Jefferson at the hands of former friends, the repudiation of his system, and his inglorious retirement to private life.

The only consolation was that he had driven New England federalists to show their lack of patriotism and love of country in their scheme to place New England under English protection, a secession not to independence, but to a hostile power.

The whole story of Burr's conspiracy and Wilkinson treachery has never hitherto been so carefully studied or so graphically presented. The Leopard's outrage on the National Flag, which after nearly a century still rankles in American hearts is well and graphically told. We read with interest the poitraiture of John Randolph, as given in the history of his schism; those of Talleyrand and Napoleon in the story of the negotiations with France. But throughout all we feel that it is the narrative of a period of national humiliation, of wrongs borne rather than have recourse to arms, yet which gradually made war necessary, when no due preparation had been made for it. The work is an attractive one and lures the reader on, though his indignation rises at every page at the part which the government and people were forced to play. "With a sigh of relief which seemed as sincere and deep as his own, the Northern people saw Jefferson turn his back on the White House, and disappear from the arena in which he had for sixteen years challenged every comer."

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Abbé H. Gosselin, parish priest of St. Ferreol, has issued the most thorough and extended life of the Ven. Francis de Laval, first bishop of Quebec and now visits France for material to produce a second edition.

NOTE.

"Liberty and Property" was written after Queen Anne allowed the Maryland Catholics a modified toleration. It is important from its broad ground that acts of parliament did not bind the colonies, because they were not represented; while the very fact that the colonial legislatures were not created by parliament but by royal prerogative, showed that parliament's power did not extend to the colonies.